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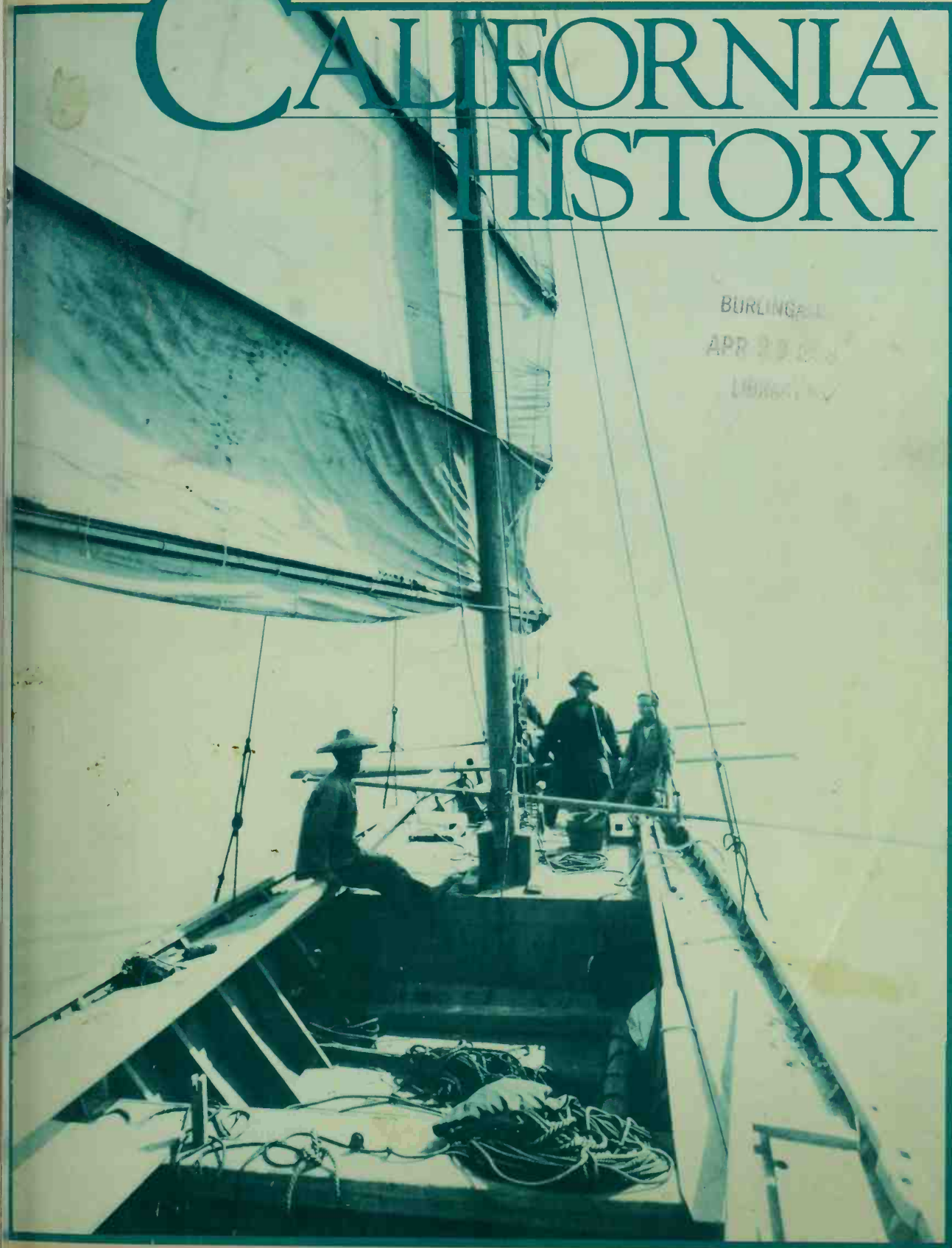
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California Snapshots



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Mr. and Mrs. W.B. Atwater at the Curtiss Flying School, San Diego, 1912.

Glenn H. Curtiss, a pioneer of American aviation on a standing with the Wright brothers, arrived in San Diego in 1910 looking for a site at which he could build and test an amphibian plane. Curtiss had begun his career in the 1880s when as a teenager he set out to build a motor for the bicycle he used to carry newspapers. At the age of twenty, he had developed a commercially viable motorcycle and in 1905 won the first American track championship for motorcycles.

Curtiss's idea for an amphibian plane was ambitious at a time when no one in the United States had yet successfully taken off from water, but he believed that it was feasible and that it would demonstrate the potential value of aircraft to the military. To develop the amphibian craft, he needed a site where a suitable body of water was available year-round for take-off and landing experiments. He found such a spot at North Island in San Diego and received permission to establish his experimental station there. Members of the Aero Club of San Diego built hangars and work sheds. At Curtiss's invitation, three Army lieutenants, a Navy lieutenant, and an ensign joined his research team. On January 26, 1911, the first U.S. flight to take off from and land on the water occurred off North Island. Curtiss then added wheels to the plane's floats, and on February 26 the same plane successfully took off from and landed on both land and water. Before the year was out, both the Army and the Navy had purchased planes from Curtiss.

The "Official Souvenir Program" for a 1911 aviation meet in San Francisco included in its biography of Curtiss the following:

The Curtiss biplanes have taken the lead in advancing the science of aviation along practical lines during the year. In cross-country flights, bomb dropping experiments, demonstrations of aerial sharpshooting, flying from deck of a vessel, and probably most important of all, in transmitting a wireless message from an aeroplane in flight, the Curtiss biplanes have done more to demonstrate the practicality of the aeroplane as an adjunct to military and naval forces, than any other flyer. . . ."

Late in 1911, Curtiss returned to San Diego after spending the summer at his original headquarters in Hammondsport, New York, and established an air school for training military officers and civilians. Students from around the world qualified there for licenses issued by the Aero Club of California. In 1913, according to Major T.C. Macaulay, the manager of the flight school that year, Curtiss offered free instruction to officers of the Army Signal Corps. The Signal Corps had established a facility on North Island on Thanksgiving Day in 1912, and a number of officers took advantage of Curtiss's offer. Although a wide variety of civilian fliers frequented Curtiss's school, military aviation had taken the front seat in San Diego. Its primacy would be consolidated by the military buildup around World War I.

(Cover) Chinese fishing junk on San Francisco Bay. As California fisheries began to decline late in the nineteenth century, many observers blamed Chinese shrimpers for disrupting the food chain and capturing newly spawned game fish.

Photograph by I. W. Taber. NAT'L MARITIME MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO

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California's Practical Idealist

JOHN RANDOLPH HAYNES

Tom Sitton

Direct legislation—the initiative, referendum, and closely associated recall—is firmly embedded in California politics, just as public ownership of utilities is well-established in a number of Golden State municipalities. For better or worse, major initiative measures (Prop 13 comes to mind) which profoundly influenced state and local government and social institutions, along with the power to remove corrupt officials, might never have been possible without a long and painstaking crusade to place these measures in the state constitution and local charters. So, too, the bimonthly bill from the Department of Water and Power and statewide control of water resources and regulation of other utilities would not exist if public ownership groups had not carried out lengthy campaigns to ingrain this principle in the fabric of the California economy.

Many individuals took part in the struggles to establish both direct legislation and public ownership in

California. Among the foremost was Dr. John Randolph Haynes, a self-pronounced socialist and self-made millionaire who spent his fortune and energy campaigning for changes in the structure and operation of political, social, and economic systems. Although he was an idealist who believed in an evolutionary Christian socialism without class revolution, Haynes was even more a pragmatist who worked for piecemeal reforms for the immediate improvement of society. His leading role in movements to achieve such goals as public ownership of utilities and the initiative, referendum, and recall in local and state politics made him one of the most significant social and political reform figures in California in the early decades of this century. Other causes he endorsed included woman suffrage, protective legislation for workers, and aid to Native Americans.

John Randolph Haynes gradually became a reform activist in his mid-forties after having been exposed to society's injustices in his early years. He was born on June 13, 1853, in Fairmount Springs, a small village in the

agricultural western fringe of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. His father, James Sydney Haynes, was the son of a Londoner who had been active in British political reform in the early 1800s and was descended from a prominent seventeenth-century dissenter. James emigrated to the United States in 1841 and settled in New Columbus, Pennsylvania, where he met and married Elvira Mann Koons, a descendant of an early Massachusetts colonist and a Revolutionary War soldier.¹

James and Elvira moved their six children throughout the anthracite coal regions of central Pennsylvania where he served as superintendent of various coal mines in Luzerne, Schuylkill, and Carbon counties. James's English ethnicity clashed with that of the predominantly Irish miners (a common problem between supervisors and workers in the coal region), and reports of terrorism sometimes associated with the Molly Maguires alarmed the Haynes household. Although James told his family of several instances in which he was threatened with bodily harm and possible death, these tales did not

Portrait of a usually serious reformer, c. 1904.

UCLA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

prejudice John's later views of oppressive working and living conditions in the coal fields. The stories were, however, enough to prod Elvira into demanding that the family liquidate its holdings and move to Philadelphia.²

By the time they arrived in the City of Brotherly Love (in October 1863), the Hayneses had saved enough to live comfortably for a while. But bad investments changed that situation almost immediately, and soon the teenaged John was out of school and working to help support his family. For a time the Haynes clan was very poor, an experience John vowed never to repeat. As the family fortune improved, he worked to save enough money to enter medical school at the University of Pennsylvania as his older brother Francis had done. Graduating in 1874 with a medical degree and a Ph.D., John hung his shingle in the predominantly poor and Irish district of Port Richmond, several blocks from Francis's office. In the next decade John again witnessed poverty on a daily basis. He also took part in municipal politics, receiving overtures to join the local Republican political machine but choosing instead to support the municipal reformers who opposed it. In 1882, the young doctor married Dora Fellows, daughter of a friend of James Haynes, another coal operator living in Wilkes-Barre. The couple moved to a new residence in Philadelphia, where Dora helped in the medical office.³

John's parents, who became administrators at the Municipal Hospi-

tal, and their children were a closely knit family. Among the things they shared were various health maladies, primarily bronchitis and tuberculosis, which encouraged them to think of moving to a drier climate. When John and Dora's only child, Sydney, died of smallpox at the age of three in 1886, the time had come for a change. In May of the following year, John, Dora, John's parents, and

His radical ideas did not propel Haynes into political activity until he had been in Los Angeles for a decade

three of his siblings packed up and moved to the booming city of Los Angeles.⁴

With savings of about \$75,000 he had accumulated by working long hours "as a galley slave" in Philadelphia, Haynes rested for a short time in the City of Angels before establishing a medical partnership with his brother Francis. For two years John served as an associate professor of gynecology at the University of Southern California while also helping to found the California Hospital with Francis and brother-in-law Walter Lindley and building up one of the largest general medical practices in Los Angeles. He and Dora soon established themselves in local soci-

ety. Dora became a busy clubwoman and hostess, while John joined important social clubs and the Chamber of Commerce and became the personal physician of many community leaders. He also invested some of his modest earnings in real estate, oil, and mining ventures and served on the boards of directors of several corporations. He proved to be a shrewd capitalist, amassing a fortune that later financed his social-reform interests.⁵

In his first decade in Los Angeles Haynes privately expressed his preference for leftist ideas but steered clear of noteworthy political action. In 1897 he joined the League for Better City Government, a bipartisan reform organization of liberals and conservatives who were fed up with scandals in municipal government and the city school system. The league was pledged to support honest and efficient candidates for city offices, civil service reform, and modification of the city charter to accomplish these goals. Its formation was a significant step in the evolution of progressive municipal reform in Los Angeles.⁶

The real beginning of Haynes's career as a reformer evolved from his association with William Dwight Porter Bliss. An Episcopal minister, Bliss had founded the first Christian Socialist Society in the United States in 1889 and was its national leader when he moved from Boston to San Francisco in 1897. In that year, Bliss organized the Union Reform League, whose object was "to work for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth." This was an attempt to Christianize secular socialism, to apply the teachings of Jesus Christ to the industrial order, and to inaugurate a new Christian society. Just how this society would come about was not spelled out, but Bliss planned

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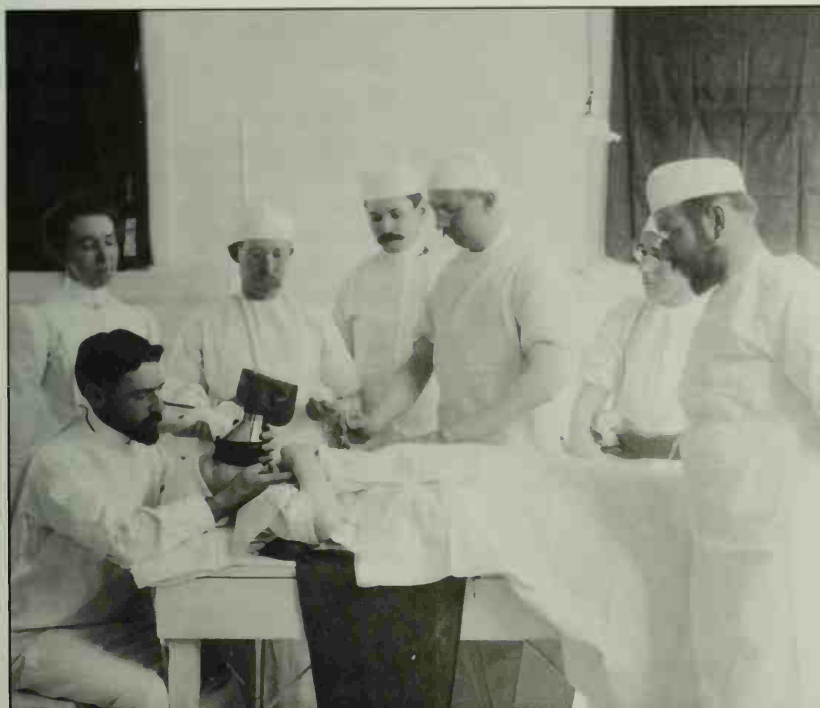
to aid its coming by "organizing public opinion on lines of Civic, State, National and universal co-operation." In the meantime, his socialism fused liberal religious thought with immediate social concerns: direct legislation, woman suffrage, abolition of child labor, full employment, the end of public-service-corporation

Angeles to establish a chapter of the new Union Reform League. Impressed with Bliss's social reform philosophy, Haynes arranged a banquet at the Van Nuys Hotel to which he invited local clergymen and others to hear Bliss introduce the League. The local branch was established, and Bliss and others lectured throughout

Chicago. The Union Reform League had lost its name and leader, but Haynes had acquired his direction for social reform.⁸

Direct legislation became Haynes's passion. In the initiative, referendum, and the closely related recall of public officers, he found an educational process in which he hoped voters would become informed enough on political issues to cast a ballot for or against specific pieces of legislation. Haynes also saw in these instruments a method by which groups with little power could participate in the political milieu and thus compete with a plutocracy that he believed had corrupted American politics at every level. In his crusade to make these measures law in California Haynes appealed for aid from groups whose aims he supported and whose goals could be achieved with direct legislation: woman suffrage organizations that could use the initiative to acquire voting rights; labor unions trying to persuade legislators to adopt laws relating to workman's compensation, wages and hours, strikes and boycotts, and other labor concerns; prohibitionists who could use the initiative to outlaw "Old John Barleycorn" and "demon rum"; singletaxers and other single-issue activists who needed a means to bring their programs to the electorate; and Socialists, who could use these measures to promote public ownership and elements of a socialist government.⁹

Haynes initially campaigned for direct legislation in 1898 as a Union Reform League delegate appointed to petition the Los Angeles Board of Freeholders to insert the initiative, referendum, and an ambiguous "imperative mandate" (recall) into the proposed city charter. A Direct Leg-



Dr. Haynes performs an operation about 1900. His brother-in-law, Dr. Walter Lindley, is the observer on the right.

HAYNES FOUNDATION

monopolies, graduated taxes, civil service rules, and others. Haynes found in Bliss's program an agenda for social reform without a bloody class revolution and made two of its objectives—direct legislation and public ownership—his own chief reform interests. Haynes believed direct legislation could be used to attain other objectives and would give citizens more control over the actions of their elected representatives.⁷

Early in 1898, Bliss came to Los

the area on the principles of Christian socialism and the need for immediate action. A Committee of One Hundred headed by Haynes was appointed to pursue the goals of the league through publications, cajoling the local press, and lobbying local governments. By the end of the next year the league was reorganized nationally as the Social Reform Union, Haynes was elected president of the California branch, and Bliss moved the headquarters to

islation League of which Socialist writer H. Gaylord Wilshire was the secretary, was also campaigning for the inclusion of the initiative and referendum in the new charter. The freeholders acceded to the pleas of both groups and placed the initiative and referendum (but not the recall) in the proposed charter, but the document was defeated on election day.¹⁰

Two years later Haynes moved to the forefront of the city campaign for direct legislation when he was elected to the Board of Freeholders in another attempt to replace the charter. In order to secure adoption of his "pet measure," he arranged to be appointed to the committee on legislation to which direct legislation proposals were referred. He convinced other committee members that the initiative, referendum, and recall should be in the charter, then had the new recall measure drafted for the board by one of his patients and another friend, both socialist lawyers. Haynes almost singlehandedly pushed the board to accept all three measures and then formed a new and short-lived Direct Legislation League to promote them prior to the election. These efforts were in vain, however, because the Board of Freeholders was declared unconstitutional and the election cancelled.¹¹

Undaunted, Haynes continued to promote direct legislation in speeches before civic groups and in newspaper articles. When a new charter revision committee was appointed in 1902, Haynes worked from the outside to have the initiative, referendum, and recall included as charter amendments. He formed another Direct Legislation League to petition committee members and hosted a lavish banquet for them on April 3 at Levy's Cafe, where National Direct Legislation League president Eltwed Pomeroy ad-

ressed them. The favorably impressed and well-fed committee eventually added direct legislation and recall provisions to the amendments which would be voted on in December. Haynes labored to generate support for the three measures by the city's Municipal League, labor unions, Socialists, and others, even



Dora Haynes in the 1880s.
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the very conservative *Los Angeles Times* publisher (and Haynes's patient) Harrison Gray Otis. All three amendments won overwhelmingly, making Los Angeles one of the few cities in the nation to adopt direct legislation and the very first to place the recall in its charter.¹²

Opponents of direct legislation believed it would be used constantly and always by special interests. Conservatives expected the subversion of representative government,

the beginning of "mob legislation," and the vengeful recall of judges. Some liberal reformers opposed the direct legislation measures as new methods by which corporations, machines, and other interests would be able to pass laws when they could not buy legislators and would be able to remove uncooperative officials. A decade after the 1902 election Haynes argued that such fears were groundless in Los Angeles. Seventeen initiative or referendum petitions had been decided; ten had passed, including one creating a public works board and another authorizing an investigation of the city's construction of the Owens River aqueduct. One city councilman was recalled in 1904, and Mayor Arthur C. Harper resigned just before a recall election scheduled in 1909. Both office holders were accused of malfeasance amid numerous charges of corruption and close ties to special interests. Los Angeles citizens acted prudently and wisely in using the initiative, referendum, and recall, Haynes believed, and their actions justified his campaign to initiate and defend these laws. In 1906 Haynes paid two attorneys to argue for the legality of the initiative before the California State Supreme Court in the Pfahler case, which resulted in a decision validating the initiative.¹³

Even before his victory at the municipal level, Haynes launched a crusade to spread direct legislation throughout the state. In the fall of 1902 he mobilized the Direct Legislation League of California to question prospective candidates for the state legislature on their views about this campaign issue. Letters flooded cities throughout the state soliciting new members and money for the League, although Haynes paid most of its expenses from his own pocket. A petition, signed by 22,000 voters,

demanding direct legislation was presented to the 1903 session of the legislature. Haynes regularly entertained members of the legislature's southern California delegation before they left for Sacramento, imploring them to vote for direct legislation bills if the opportunity arose. He made biennial pilgrimages to the state capitol between 1903 and 1911 to lobby personally, and he paid lobbyists to work for him.¹⁴

Some legislators favored direct legislation, but Haynes needed a majority and he was opposed by Walter F.X. Parker, the Southern Pacific Railroad's chief lobbyist in Sacramento. Haynes attempted to convince Parker that direct legislation was desirable, but Parker was adamant, stating flatly that he was paid to protect SP interests. Strong opposition also came from the liquor lobby, which feared a possible prohibition initiative. The doctor was blocked until the insurgent state progressives won the 1910 election and displaced the SP's favorites in control of state government. With some difficulty still (including the opposition to the recall of judges by the more conservative progressives), the direct-legislation proposals were approved in the 1911 legislature and passed with large pluralities in the ensuing state election. Although he was not the only major supporter of these measures in the state, Haynes's leadership was evident and fellow reformers gave him a lion's share of the credit for this victory.¹⁵

While he was agitating for direct legislation in the early 1900s, Haynes was also working both locally and nationally for socialism as advocated by Rev. Bliss. In 1899 he helped to establish the Economic Club, a monthly dinner club for liberals to discuss current topics. A year later he spearheaded and was elected

president of the first Christian Socialist Club in Los Angeles, another monthly discussion group concerned with religious-based evolutionary socialism and social reform. The club's membership encompassed "red card" carriers and respectable businessmen, clergymen, and clubwomen who gave the local socialist



Caricature of a serious reformer, about 1904.

AS WE SEE 'UM, LOS ANGELES

movement a wider base of support. In 1903 Haynes joined the Fabian Society after he and H. Gaylord Wilshire visited London, where they met George Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, and Lord John Russell. His interviews with these British intellectuals were stimulating, particularly one with Shaw, who shocked him by denouncing the initiative and referendum as instruments of mob rule.¹⁶

Never a member of either Socialist party, Haynes believed that a benevolent form of socialism would eventually triumph in the United States, and he used his pocketbook to hurry it along. He contributed heavily to *Wayland's Monthly*, *Wilshire's Monthly*, the *Appeal to Reason*, and to the local *Los Angeles Socialist* and *Common Sense*. In 1906 and again in the 1920s he purchased many \$50 and \$100 Socialist Libraries—assortments of socialist literature which he donated to libraries throughout the United States. Education of workers and students to the inequities of the present socio-economic system, Haynes believed, would gradually lead the nation to vote for "Fundamental Democracy-Socialism," the title of one of his speeches.¹⁷

Besides financing these endeavors, Haynes also became an activist for public ownership, another reform he expected to hasten the coming of socialism. Eventually public ownership became his most time-consuming activity. He became active on its behalf in Los Angeles in the first decade of the twentieth century when direct legislation was still his first priority. In 1904 Haynes began a campaign for municipal ownership, arguing in various essays and speeches that the city needed to acquire and operate all of its utilities. He charged that private telephone, gas, electric, and transportation systems delivered inferior service and took in large profits while he lauded the city-owned waterworks. In 1907 he organized a syndicate which formed the short-lived City Gas Company to compete with the established private gas company and then sell the business to the city as soon as it became profitable. In 1906 Haynes plunged into one of

his few partisan ventures when he joined California labor leaders in establishing the Public Ownership Party as a third party in the state and city. The party disintegrated after the elections that year, but the experience helped to cement the bond between Haynes and organized labor.¹⁸

When public ownership of a particular utility was not practical, Haynes was willing to join more conservative reformers in regulating the utilities for the common weal. Alarmed by newspaper items documenting an increase in fatalities resulting from streetcar accidents, he initiated his own investigation in April, 1905. After sending questionnaires to the mayors of seventy cities around the world, Haynes found that Los Angeles had the highest mortality rate from streetcar accidents of any city its size. He surmised that the major problem was front fenders which allowed pedestrians to be knocked down and dragged under the wheels to their deaths. Haynes discovered that fenders could be purchased which literally scooped up potential victims and cradled them in a basket until the motorman stopped the car. Unable to persuade streetcar company executives to install these fenders voluntarily, Haynes set out to make the newly won direct legislation principle serve his commitment to public ownership and regulation.¹⁹

The first step was to gain the support of the Voters League, a reform organization formed in May, 1905, to work for municipal ownership, civil service, direct legislation, and other progressive goals. Haynes joined the league and convinced its members to make the fender fight its top priority. He and his fellow members circulated an initiative petition calling for a city ordinance requiring safety fenders to be installed on all

streetcars operating within the city limits. By January, 1906, the league had collected over 4,000 signatures, almost enough to call a special election, when Haynes persuaded the city council to consider the issue. In the meantime a streetcar company representative challenged Haynes to help test one of the fenders by stand-

nance passed in May.²⁰

The fender controversy was far from over, however. In the next three years streetcar officials made several attempts to circumvent the ordinance, once provoking the arrest of two traffic managers and a number of motormen who operated cars without fenders. Haynes and his



Haynes and H. Gaylord Wilshire on their voyage to Europe in 1903.

UCLA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

ing in front of an oncoming car and offered \$1,000 to Haynes's heirs if he was killed. Sensing that the streetcar company might not be too careful when the target was the leader of the safety-fender crusade, Haynes graciously declined the invitation and secured a salesman from a fender company to play the role of a possible accident victim. The test was successful. So was a dinner hosted by Haynes at which he lectured the members of the council. The ordi-

allies kept a constant vigilance, making speeches to counter the arguments of traction officials and lobbying the city council to block revisions of the law until the battle was won in 1909. The war was not over, though. The streetcar companies made a concerted effort to change the ordinance in 1920, and Haynes again led the victorious (and almost single-handed) opposition. In 1937, another attempt to repeal the ordinance brought him to its defense

when he hired an attorney to battle the streetcar officials. His untimely death that year ended the opposition, and changes in streetcar design made the ordinance obsolete.²¹

Along with direct legislation, socialism, and public ownership, Haynes also developed a characteristic activist interest in reform

cultivated such a close relationship with Socialists and labor leaders that he was asked to run for mayor in 1902 on the Union Labor Party ticket.²²

Haynes began to work for structural political reform before the city progressives assumed power in 1909. In 1901 he was a founding member of the civic-reform oriented Municipi-

his support, offered amendments calling for a city council to be elected at large rather than by ward and for the direct primary instead of party conventions. Unlike direct legislation, which could be used to bring about a variety of reform objectives, the structural political reforms were aimed specifically at ending the influence of partisan or bipartisan political cabals which the progressives believed controlled and corrupted local government.²³

The target of the municipal progressives' crusade was the "Southern Pacific machine," a loosely organized apparatus financed by the railroad and other utilities and directed by Walter Francis Xavier Parker, "land and tax agent" for the Southern Pacific. Progressives accused Parker of running city hall, the county courthouse, the state legislature, and the state conventions of both parties, and a reform movement gradually emerged to end "Boss Parker's" influence. Haynes was involved in the formative stages of this movement: in the founding of the Municipal League and the Voters League, both of which included many future members of the nonpartisan organization of 1906; in his leadership in the 1904 recall of Councilman Davenport; and in the safety-fender campaign, which offered nonpartisans (especially the younger members) an active role in reform politics. Haynes might have joined the nonpartisan organization in 1906 had he not been dodging terrorist bombs while on a trip to Russia that summer.²⁴

He returned to Los Angeles in time to face a dilemma in the 1906 mayoral election. Should he vote for his brother-in-law, Dr. Walter Lindley, the regular Republican choice of Walter Parker; for Stanley Wilson, candidate of the Public Ownership party Haynes had helped to found;



Los Angeles's first civil service commission, 1903. Haynes is in the center; to his right is City Attorney William B. Mathews, later a Haynes Foundation trustee.

HAYNES FOUNDATION

of the political structure in the first decade of the twentieth century. Although he differed with other political reformers in his commitment to more liberal social reform, Haynes shared their moralist abhorrence of corruption in government and its association with vice. Sharing a similar background and financial status, Haynes worked well with these progressives, even though he

pal League of Los Angeles, a local branch of the National Municipal League. Two years later he was appointed one of the first members of the city's civil service commission, and over the next dozen years he used this position to protect the department from attacks by the *Los Angeles Times* and other opponents. In 1907 he was appointed to the charter revision committee which, with

for Frank Marek of the Socialist party Haynes had helped to finance; or for Lee C. Gates, the nonpartisan nominee? As it turned out, it made little difference since Democrat Arthur C. Harper won the election with Parker's eleventh-hour assistance. But the nonpartisans won other city offices and continued their crusade. Haynes sponsored a banquet at the California Club at which muckraker Lincoln Steffens urged businessmen and reformers to continue fighting against graft. Haynes's official role in formulating the nonpartisan charter amendments passed in early 1909 further assisted the reformers. That year he and other Municipal League members voted to use one of his pet measures to recall Mayor Harper, accused of corruption and possible mismanagement of the \$23,000,000 Owens River aqueduct. Harper resigned before the election, progressive George Alexander won, and the nonpartisans moved into city hall. In April, Haynes was appointed to the executive board of the Good Government Organization to guide the city nonpartisans in their further overhaul of municipal government.²⁵

In the first decade of the twentieth century Haynes had considerable difficulty finding time for his growing social-reform activism while practicing medicine. His clients included a number of socially and politically prominent men and women who aided his political efforts. (One of his out-of-town patients was Clarence Darrow, for whom in 1908 Haynes arranged and assisted in a mastoid operation in Los Angeles.) Unable to keep up with new developments and techniques in medicine, Haynes decided in 1910 that it was time to reduce his

practice and devote more time to public service. His interests were virtually the same as they had been, but he could now concentrate on political and social reform.²⁶

The 1911 enactment of direct legislation in California did not silence the opponents of these measures. Continuing opposition came from

A varied array of political interests continued to oppose direct legislation and the recall

Old Guard politicians used to making political decisions without much fear of public reprisal; a conservative business and social elite alarmed by the demands of labor, Socialists, and women for more political and economic power in the community; and even a few old progressives who became disenchanted with the use of the initiative to modify the economic structure of the state and who were always wary of the possibility of removing judges who made unpopular decisions. In Los Angeles, unsuccessful recall proceedings were initiated in the 1910s against two of Haynes's city and county allies. The anti-reform *Los Angeles Times* intensified its editorial attacks on Haynes and direct legislation over the next two decades, and *Times* allies went

so far as to insert anti-direct-legislation propaganda into monthly newsletters distributed by a Los Angeles bank. Despite numerous attempts to modify ("cripple" according to Haynes) the initiative, referendum and recall charter provisions, Haynes triumphantly defended his "pet measure" by using political influence and his checkbook.²⁷

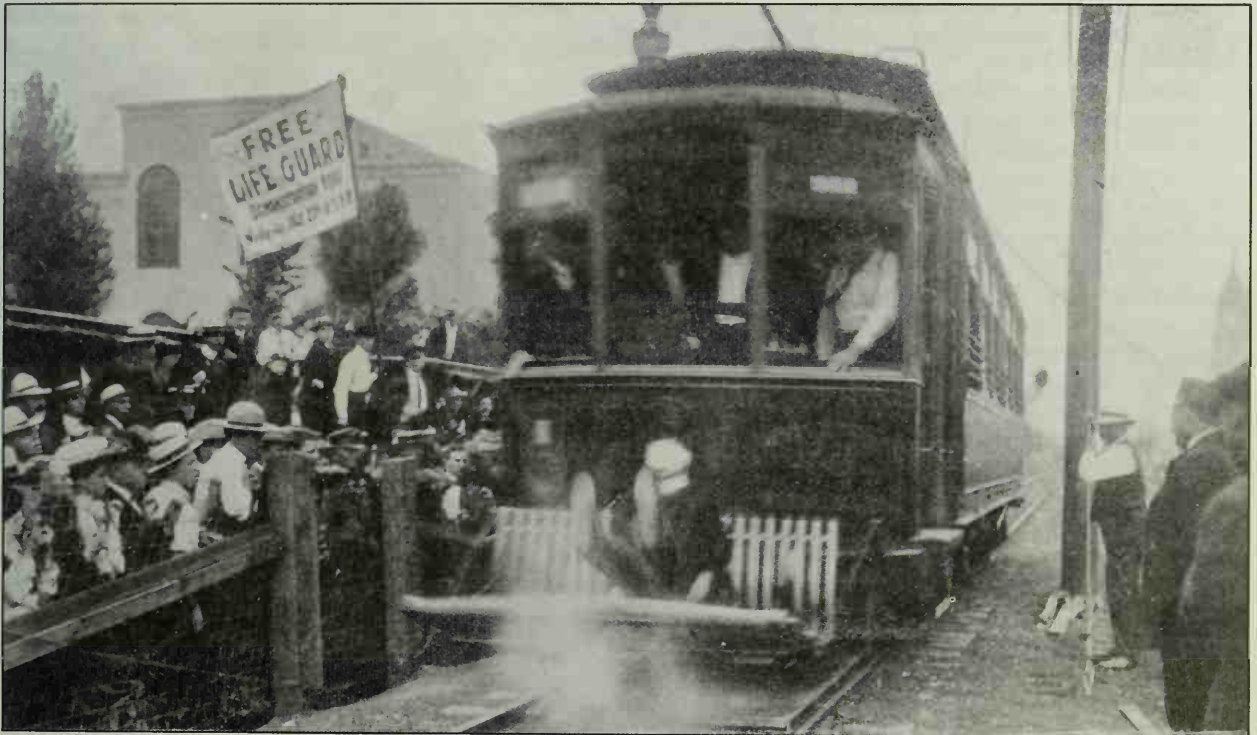
It was more difficult and more expensive to protect direct legislation at the state level. In every session of the legislature conservative (and occasionally progressive) legislators tried to increase the percentage of signatures needed to qualify petitions, limit the number of times an initiative topic could be placed on the ballot within a given number of years, exempt certain subjects (especially taxation) from the initiative, and restrict the signature-gathering process. Haynes responded by paying Sacramento lobbyists to keep him abreast of such attempts and to work against them. In 1919 he subsidized the lobbying expenses of California State Federation of Labor official Paul Scharrenberg. All through the 1920s and in the early 1930s Haynes sent monthly stipends during legislative sessions to political writer Franklin Hichborn, who worked to guard direct legislation, public ownership, and other favored programs. Although he was occasionally aided by influential allies, Haynes was by far the dominant power in the defense of direct legislation in California until his death.²⁸

Haynes's leadership in this statewide effort was reflected in the long battle over the single-tax initiative. Henry George's call for a single tax on the unearned increment in the rental value of land spawned a major political movement in California in the 1910s, aided by publicity about similar campaigns in Great Britain

and Canada and the growing influence of California Socialists who advocated it as a step toward socialism. In one form or another, the single tax was offered to California voters by three different organizations four times in the 1910s and twice in the 20s, and it almost made the ballot as a "repeal of the sales tax" initiative

licitly neutral on the issue—with the exception of one qualified endorsement of the single tax in a Socialist newspaper—in order to protect the initiative law. He believed that if he was positively associated with the single-tax measure, its opponents would use this connection to justify a change in the initiative law to pre-

major businesses and newspapers in California that were powerful enough to deal a devastating blow to both the single tax and the initiative law. Haynes responded by establishing the League to Protect the Initiative, a paper organization with hundreds of influential Californians on its letterhead. Haynes financed the league



The testing of streetcar fenders, such as this Eclipse fender, provided a few exciting moments during Haynes's safety fender crusade.

HAYNES FOUNDATION

in 1936. On each occasion its opponents, particularly real-estate and banking interests, mounted tremendous campaigns to defeat it, several times retaliating with their own initiatives to keep it off the ballot.²⁹

Haynes favored this tax, which would drastically affect his real-estate investments, but he wanted to see it established gradually and to retain taxes on other forms of wealth. However, he remained pub-

vent any similar measure from appearing again.³⁰

Haynes's fears were realized in 1920, when the People's Anti Single Tax League qualified an initiative for the ballot which would have required that initiatives concerned with taxation be supported by signatures from a larger percentage of the electorate than what was required to place other initiatives on the ballot. This organization had financial backing from

and ran it himself with the assistance of a secretary in southern California and Franklin Hichborn in the North; it successfully defeated anti-initiative measures in 1920 and again in 1922. Haynes spent thousands of dollars to bring noted speakers to California, print a mass of political literature, and buy newspaper ads soliciting support from organized labor, Socialists, single taxers, progressives, and others who had or

hoped to benefit from direct legislation. In both years the battles over limiting the initiative were among the most important issues in the election contests.³¹

Haynes was also active in spreading direct legislation to other states. Considered an authority on the subject in California, he was frequently asked for advice by interested parties in other parts of the world, and he defended direct legislation against criticism in national magazines and newspapers. One of his speeches, "Direct Government in California" (printed as a U.S. Senate document), applauded California's record and called for all states to adopt direct legislation. In 1913 he helped found the National Popular Government League and became its leading benefactor. This organization was one of his favorites because it reflected his own changing priorities, gradually moving from a focus on direct legislation to primary concern with public ownership. After World War I, Haynes, too, believed that public ownership was more pressing than other reforms, even direct legislation.³²

He was interested in public ownership of all utilities, but after 1911 Haynes turned his energy mainly to the public development of hydroelectric power, which emerged as a political issue in Los Angeles in 1910. The controversy evolved as a debate concerning the distribution of hydroelectric power produced by the city's soon-to-be-built aqueduct and water flow system in the Owens Valley: should the city wholesale this power to private companies or build its own distribution system as a competitor? There was little opposition to the city-owned waterworks, but private-enterprise adherents led by the *Times* protested the city's possible entrance into the hydroelectric

business. This opposition prodded Haynes and other municipal-ownership advocates to create various *ad hoc* political groups—The Peoples' Power Bond Committee, and so forth—to campaign for bond issues to finance a municipal electricity system. By 1919 enough bonds were approved by Los Angeles voters to

Water and Power until 1937. During these years he was an influential figure in what was called the "water and power machine," a network of municipal-ownership advocates including old progressives, organized-labor leaders, city employees, civic groups, and politicians who joined at various moments to promote bond



What happened to a political quack.

Though they originally supported direct legislation, the editors of the Los Angeles Times became the city's most vocal opponents of Dr. Haynes and direct legislation, especially the recall. *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1905.

LOS ANGELES TIMES, OCTOBER 19, 1905.

establish the largest municipal transmission and distribution complex in the United States.³³

The creation of this system did not end the controversy, however, and Haynes decided to promote this expanding enterprise from within. With a little help from his friends he was appointed to the Public Service Board (later renamed the Board of Water and Power Commissioners) in 1921 and became the best-known spokesman for the Department of

issues, fight attempts by opponents to limit DWP expansion, or support candidates sympathetic to the aims of the department. Haynes contributed heavily to bond election campaigns in the 1910s and 20s which underwrote the expansion of this municipal venture, which Haynes hoped would shine as the preeminent example of the success of public ownership.³⁴

A large part of the department's growth was due to its acquisition

of additional electrical power from Boulder (now Hoover) Dam. In 1921 the federal government proposed to control the Colorado River by building a dam in Black Canyon and to finance the project by wholesaling the electricity it produced to southern California. Public-ownership ad-

vocates recognized the project as a major opportunity to create a near-monopoly for public power: all available sources of electricity for Los Angeles were already being exploited, and the city was expanding rapidly. If new power needs could be met from publicly-owned sources,

the balance would tip overwhelmingly in favor of the public sector. For the next seven years, until passage of the Swing-Johnson bill which authorized construction of the dam, Haynes led the campaign for it, while private power companies and their allies tried to prevent construction or to have its power sold mainly to private concerns. The Boulder Dam controversy was the dominant political issue in Los Angeles from 1923 to 1928 and Haynes was instrumental in promoting the project before the city's electorate.³⁵

Fighting for Boulder Dam became a crusade in which he spent considerable money and time on speeches and organizing support groups. At times the confrontations with private power company officials were potentially explosive, although it appears that the doctor maintained decorum. At one meeting of the League of the Southwest, dominated by those who opposed Boulder Dam power for the cities, Haynes packed the hall with municipal-ownership supporters, thus throwing the meeting into confusion. One delegate remembered that in the tense moments while a committee tried to decide which participants could vote, "Dr. Haynes and the vice-president of the Southern California Edison Company got up to give us a little vaudeville show to kill time. They danced around and around and sang 'Ever Since We Were Boys' and told stories . . ."³⁶

The Boulder Dam proposal was eventually approved in late 1928. At the same time the Metropolitan Water District (MWD)—a body composed of representatives of southern California cities—was created to oversee distribution of the water diverted from the Colorado. Haynes was appointed to the MWD board and served two years. In this period



Los Angeles Times cartoon, February 2, 1906.

he also continued to support public power as national policy with hefty contributions to the Public Ownership League of America and the National Popular Government League, both of which championed public ownership of electrical power resources, and both of which claimed Haynes as a vice-president. Although he was also interested in other utilities after 1911, hydroelectrical power received most of his attention.³⁷

Haynes's participation in the campaign for public ownership reflected some of his zeal for evolutionary socialism. Although he was willing to work for piecemeal reforms, he continued to support socialist causes with his checkbook; occasionally he spoke out. Socialist newspapers heralded Haynes's interviews reaffirming his belief that socialism would eventually prevail. His speeches on the subject included an oration before the 1915 World's Social Progress Congress in San Francisco, in which he pleaded for socialism as an antidote to conditions that led to the current war in Europe. In speeches on other subjects he confessed his long-term preference, even though he advocated short-term gains, as in an address before the Women's Progressive League in 1912, when he told his audience: "If our watchword is to be ultimate principles with present defeat, then our votes should go to the Socialist Party; if, however, we seek practical, tangible results now, we should vote for Roosevelt."³⁸

But Haynes's major contribution to socialism was his money. Beginning early in the century he financed national, state, and local Socialists and their publications. From its inception in 1905 he subsidized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (I.S.S.), except for a per-

iod during World War I when Scott Nearing and other I.S.S. representatives refused to back the Allied war effort against the "menace of Prussian militarism." After the war Haynes contributed to the League for Industrial Democracy, successor to the I.S.S. and educational arm of the American socialist movement. In

Underlying Haynes's work for direct legislation and the recall, public ownership, and municipal reform was a steadfast commitment to the ideal of socialism

the years just before and during the Great Depression, he tried to establish a \$100,000 trust fund for the league and donate some of his property to it. Although these attempts did not come to fruition, he still poured thousands of dollars into the league treasury, aiding the proselytizing efforts of Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, and Paul Blanshard.³⁹

Haynes's donations to the League for Industrial Democracy were to be kept confidential, however, because of a controversy that erupted in 1923. In that year he was appointed as a regent of the University of California by outgoing Governor William Stephens. The appointment raised a storm of protest in the state's con-

servative press, because it was commonly known that Haynes had contributed at least \$500 to the *Intercollegiate Socialist* (as well as another \$500 to Max Eastman's socialist journal, *The Masses*). Haynes had already suffered embarrassment in the Red Scare era when he was asked to testify about his alleged radicalism before a 1919 grand jury. Incoming Governor Friend Richardson tried to use the controversy to replace Haynes with a more conventional regent, but the move failed and Haynes was active in university affairs until his death in 1937.⁴⁰

Another modest contribution to socialism was Haynes's purchase of the printing plates and copyright for Upton Sinclair's *Cry for Justice*, a collection of social-protest essays. Sinclair asked Haynes to underwrite the project in 1916, so the book could be made less expensive and more widely available. The project brought these two southern Californians together socially and intellectually for the next few years. Sinclair also asked Haynes to critique drafts of his books and contribute more to the local Socialist party. The prolific author probably received assistance from Haynes again in his 1934 California gubernatorial campaign. Although Haynes did not publicly endorse Sinclair's candidacy and his End Poverty in California campaign to ameliorate the effects of the Great Depression in the Golden State, the doctor apparently voted for Sinclair, target of one of the most intense and systematic attacks in California political history.⁴¹

Participation in the state-wide struggles for direct legislation and public ownership of water and power resources was only a part of Haynes's relationship to state progressivism. After the inception of the movement in 1907 he played a significant role

in promoting and financing the progressives, especially in southern California. The victory of Hiram Johnson and other progressives in the 1910 election enhanced Haynes's influence in state politics; he became one of the chief strategists and contributors to the insurgents and an advisor to governors Johnson, Ste-

sity of California Board of Regents (1923-1937), Committee on Tax Revision (1927-1929), California Constitutional Commission (1929-1931), and the State Unemployment Committee (1930-1931). These offices allowed Haynes to implement some of his ideas on the responsibility of state government to be efficient and to



Haynes with Gaylord Wilshire and others at Wilshire's Bishop Mine in 1914. These two "millionaire socialists" invested in several business ventures together during their thirty-year friendship.

HAYNES FOUNDATION

phens, and Young. This relationship resulted in his appointment to several state positions: the Board of Charities and Corrections (1912-1923), State Council of Defense (1917-1919), Committee on Efficiency and Economy (1918-1919) to streamline the state administration, the Univer-

serve social justice.⁴²

Haynes also lobbied in the state legislature for progressive goals other than direct legislation. For years he aided his wife Dora's activism for woman suffrage, and he served on the advisory board of the Political Equality League, of which

Dora was treasurer. In 1911, when the new progressive legislature offered an opportunity to place the issue on the ballot as a constitutional amendment, Haynes increased his efforts. He joined Dora and women's organizations in the successful electoral campaign for woman suffrage in California and continued to support Dora's leadership in this area until the Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920.⁴³

The doctor's drive to influence the legislature in favor of progressive labor goals such as workman's compensation and the eight-hour day occupied his time in the 1910s. Besides lobbying, he arranged to be appointed a special state commissioner to study coal mining in Europe in order to improve miner safety in the U.S. The fruit of this investigation (for which he paid all expenses) was the introduction in Congress of a bill to create the interstate commission to regulate mines. Haynes joined the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1911 and became its leading financier in the fight to improve mining conditions. These efforts for labor were matched by others on the state level, where he was appointed by the governor to help arbitrate potential major strikes in 1917 and 1918; locally, he lent thousands of dollars to Santa Fe Railroad strikers in 1922 to protect their home mortgages. It is no wonder that his relationship with labor was always amiable in state and local politics.⁴⁴

Promoting California progressivism also meant defending its accomplishments against onslaughts by conservative opponents. Haynes was closely associated with liberal progressives who managed to limit Governor Friend Richardson's attempt to reduce budget allocations for education, labor protection, and other humanitarian state activities in

1923. Legislative assaults on direct legislation, progressive tax laws, and other hard-won achievements also received Haynes's attention. Throughout the 1920s he was one of the principal defenders of liberalism in California against attacks by the Better America Federation (BAF), a superpatriot organization born of the Red Scare. Concerned by the tactics of this group in putting spies in California classrooms and lobbying for the repeal of laws protecting workers (especially women and children), Haynes worked with other progressives to limit the effectiveness of the BAF. Their efforts were rarely needed after 1927, when the BAF president was indicted for usury in the Julian Petroleum Company scandal.⁴⁵

Haynes's influence in state politics enhanced his local stature, and from 1911 to 1937 he was one of Los Angeles's most powerful political figures. He retained his position on the civil service board until 1915 and became an advisor to several progressive mayors. Working on and off with insurgent leaders Meyer Lissner and Edwin T. Earl, Haynes became one of the progressive "bosses," insurgent leaders who used progressive reforms to dominate non-partisan politics in Los Angeles in the 1910s. Haynes held considerable influence over local officials, although municipal reformers were wary of his continuing link with Socialists. Besides being able to help choose candidates for city and county offices, his influence placed him on city charter revision boards in 1912 and 1915, where he worked for changes in the structure of city government; specifically he advocated the commission and city manager administrative forms and proportional representation on the city council, which would have aided the

Socialists. These particular charter amendments were not adopted, despite Haynes's efforts. The Los Angeles County charter of 1912, for which Haynes was also a freeholder, did pass, and his influence in county politics increased. He was closely associated with two county super-

In many ways, the New Deal represented on a national scale what Haynes practiced at the local and state levels

visors and served on the County Public Welfare Commission from 1915 to 1923.⁴⁶

In the 1920s Haynes was aligned with Kent Parrot, reputed "Boss of Los Angeles," who championed municipal ownership in exchange for Haynes's cooperation. This tenuous association gave Haynes so much influence in Mayor George Cryer's appointments and policy that the *Times* accused Haynes of being the "Boss of the Boss." The expansion of the city's water and power program became the major Parrot-Cryer priority and the chief issue in Cryer's 1925 primary campaign. Early in this partnership

Haynes was again elected to the Board of Freeholders which wrote the 1925 charter that guides Los Angeles today.⁴⁷

The year 1929 spelled "crash" for both Wall Street and the Parrot political apparatus, and Haynes's influence ebbed during the administration of Mayor John C. Porter. Porter grew increasingly hostile to municipal ownership and eventually tried in vain to remove Haynes from the city water and power board. In 1933 Haynes enthusiastically supported County Supervisor Frank L. Shaw, who defeated Porter, and again became an advisor in the city administration. He used his influence to expand the water and power department; when the Boulder Dam was completed in 1937, electrical power was no longer a political issue in Los Angeles. It is ironic that he passed away on October 30 of that same year, an eighty-four-year-old victim of a cerebral hemorrhage after a long bout with influenza.⁴⁸

John Randolph Haynes plunged into the New Deal era as an octogenarian reformer who generally supported Franklin D. Roosevelt but hoped he would carry national reforms even further. Still an evolutionary socialist, Haynes believed as late as 1936 that "civilization can only survive through a radical change in our capitalist condition." Since at least 1916 he had been convinced that a planned national economy of publicly-owned utilities and means of production was the answer to economic calamity and social injustice. During the Great Depression he thought only FDR could steer the nation in this direction and yet avoid revolution. In declining to support an ultraliberal third party or the Socialist party in 1936, Haynes con-

fessed a pragmatic concern that leftist candidates might sap enough strength to elect a conservative Republican. That, he believed, would lead to reaction and possible revolt by the underprivileged.⁴⁹

Haynes's approval of the New Deal was much more than tacit support. In light of the interpretation of

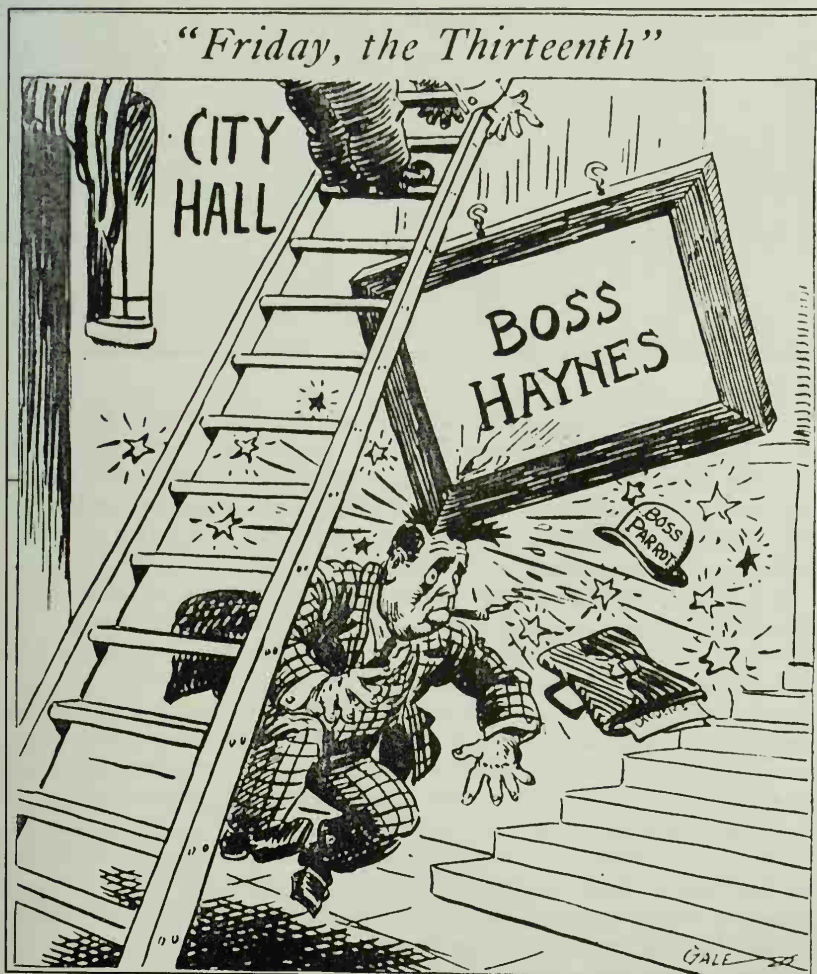
the American socio-economic system, he willingly accepted piecemeal reforms to improve immediate conditions. Like some New Dealers he was never afraid to experiment, and in many ways direct legislation and the various forms of municipal government were indeed experiments. Limited though they were, however,

most of his contemporaries could claim.⁵⁰

Haynes's legacy is only hinted at in material remains: the DWP's John Randolph Haynes Steam Plant in Long Beach, Haynes Street in the San Fernando Valley, or the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, which from a downtown office dispenses the residue of his fortune for some of the causes he championed. His place in local and state history can be better evaluated by recalling the social reforms he fought for and financed—possibly such concerns as public health, conservation, assistance for American Indians and coal miners, and the end of child labor—but most assuredly the twin ambitions of the latter half of his life, direct legislation and public ownership. Even when he disagreed with the final decision, Haynes demonstrated his belief that it was best to leave the business of controlling the actions of government and public utilities to the public itself.⁵¹

In many ways John Randolph Haynes was as much an anomaly as most "millionaire socialists" of the early twentieth century. A leftist almost comfortable in conservative spheres, a rich man resigned to the peaceful overthrow of his class, a moralist unafraid to work with political bosses, a dangerous radical in the opinion of conservatives, and a compromiser in the eyes of the left, Haynes did what he thought was possible to improve social, economic, and political conditions in Los Angeles and California while simultaneously striving for a distant utopia. At least for direct legislation and public ownership, Haynes's leadership and deeds far outweighed the mere power of his wealth.⁵² CHS

See notes beginning on page 69.



News of Haynes's influence over the city's "Boss Parrot" in 1925 led the Times to label Haynes the "Boss of the Boss." Los Angeles Times, November 13, 1925.

at least one revisionist scholar, Haynes was a New Dealer for all of his reform career. Though an idealist who hoped for a major overhaul of

Haynes's major accomplishments in direct legislation and public ownership were far more significant achievements in reform than those

YAQUITEPEC

MARSHAL SOUTH'S CHRONICLE OF LIFE ON GHOST MOUNTAIN

Carol Roland

Ghost Mountain rises out of the Colorado Desert, a lonely, isolated peak in the Vallecito Mountains sixty miles east of San Diego. In the summer, temperatures soar to 120°, in winter fifty-mile-an-hour winds tear across the boulder-strewn summit. There is no source of water on the mountain, and the flat plateau near the top can be reached only by hiking up a narrow, steep, mile-long trail.

It is not a likely place to build a home. But in February, 1932, writer Marshal South and his poet wife, Tanya, did just that. For the next sixteen years, Marshal, Tanya, and their three children, Rider, Rudyard, and Victoria, carried out what Marshal called "an experiment in primitive living" on the top of Ghost Mountain. In emulation of Native American and Hispanic lifeways, they wished to live simply and honestly—to the greatest extent possible gathering and growing their own food, making their own clothing and household goods, and building their own shelter.

The Souths' move to the remote Colorado Desert was partly motivated by the onset of the Great Depression, which made it difficult for two relatively unknown artists to earn a living. Marshal, however, insisted that philosophic and spiritual motivations were as compelling as economic necessity in their choice:

We moved to the desert because we were tired. . . . There came a period in our existence when we arrived all at once at the realization that we were out of step. We were temperamental misfits and innate barbarians, and we were not equal to the job of coping with modern high powered civilization.²

Marshal claimed that on Ghost Mountain the Souths found "peace, solitude, and settled contentment."



DESERT, OCTOBER 1940



South family portrait, 1940.
From left to right, Marshal,
Rider, Tanya, and Rudyard.

(Facing page) The inscription on
this rock cairn at the beginning of
the trail up Ghost Mountain read:

In the Name Of The GREAT SPIRIT,
PEACE.

This Is Yaquitepec—Our Home
And

In Accordance With The Ideals
Of Peace, Sunshine, Health,
Simplicity, Bodily Freedom
And The Simple Faith In The
GREAT SPIRIT For Which This

Desert Mountain Retreat
Was Established

NO CLOTHING IS WORN HERE
Therefore

If You Cannot Accept And
Conform To, In Clean-minded
Simplicity, This Natural
Condition of Life, We Ask
In All Friendship, That You
Come No Further, But Return
By The Path You Came.

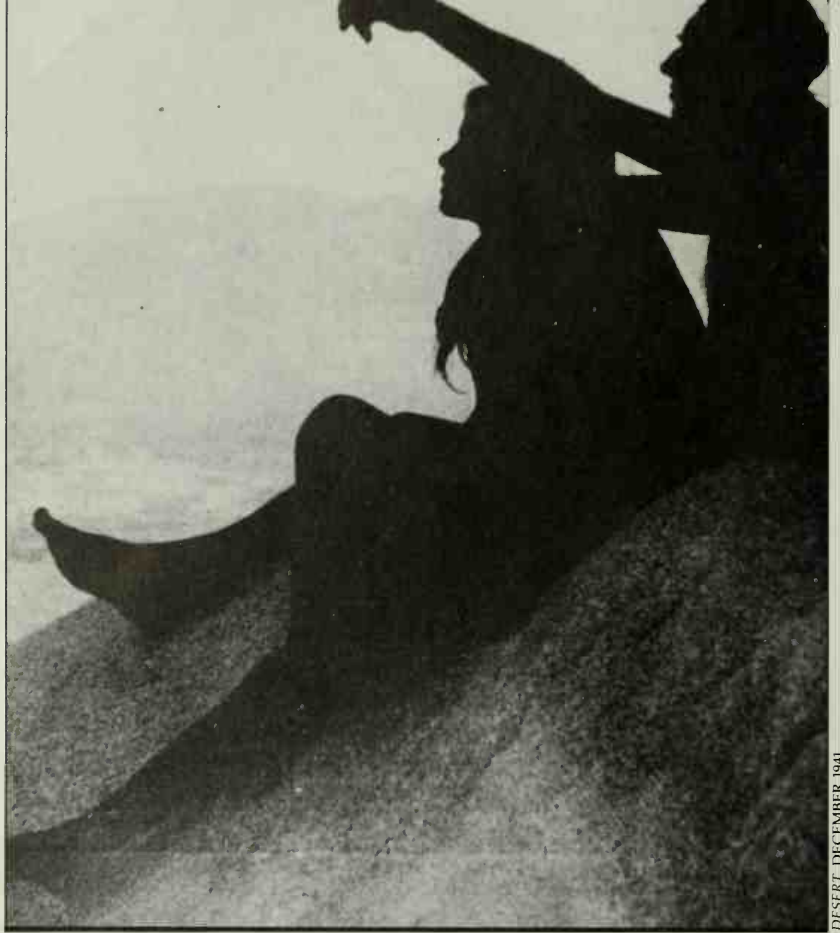
The Peace Of The GREAT SPIRIT
Be With You Always
Marshal & Tanya South.

During the first year, Marshal and Tanya lived in a tent, carrying all their water and supplies up the one-mile trail to their homesite. Over the next several years, they slowly built and enlarged a small, tin-roofed adobe, a ramada, and a system of cisterns designed to assure a mountaintop water supply. The Souths gave their home the romantic name "Yaquitepec"—house of the sun. In 1939, Marshal filed a homestead patent, legalizing his family's claim to the land.³ Also in 1939, Marshal published his first account of life at Yaquitepec in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Then, beginning in 1940 and continuing for the next six years, South wrote a very popular series of articles for *Desert Magazine*. Entitled "The Art of Living," the series chronicled the South family's unusual life. Tanya's poetry became a regular feature of the magazine in May, 1941, and was usually published in conjunction with Marshal's articles.

The *Desert Magazine* articles were a vehicle through which Marshal expounded his philosophy of primitivism. Marshal found modern, mechanized, materialistic "civilization" inhuman and barbaric. The peaceful hunting and gathering cultures of Native Americans, which most white people considered primitive and backward, were truly civilized, he argued. South emphasized that in Indian society there was a spiritualism, an awareness of nature, a respect for the environment, and a nonacquisitive ethic that is entirely lacking in the modern world. In a typical statement of his views, Marshal contrasted a morning at Yaquitepec with events taking place in a world on the brink of World War II:

The morning sun was a glint of gold over our hills. In the cleft of the great boulder near the house the hard creosote bush gleamed cheerfully in its new

Although Marshal never acknowledged the influence of other Southwestern writers and artists, the composition and feeling of many of his photographs is strikingly reminiscent of the romantic Indian portraits of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Taos and Santa Fe painters.



DESERT, DECEMBER 1941

dress of green leaves. There was a faint but unmistakable hum of bees among the junipers.

Somewhere, away off in a world that calls itself "civilized" cannon foundries are roaring and men who preach "brotherhood" are dropping bombs upon the homes of little children.

Here in the "savage wilderness" of the "merciless" desert there is peace.⁴

More frequently, Marshal conveyed his philosophy implicitly through descriptions of daily life at Yaquitepec. Many of the articles centered on a basic subsistence activity undertaken by the family. There was a story about roasting mescal roots on an ancient Indian mescal hearth, another about a trip to gather mesquite beans, the dietary staple of the desert-dwelling Cahuilla and Kumeyaay Indians. There was an article about a day spent fashioning pottery from native clay, and one which included instructions for preparing jerky in the "old Mexican way."

South's primitivist philosophy encompassed what today we would term a strong environmental awareness. He constantly emphasized the interdependence between man and nature, deploring the ways in which mechanization had obscured our basic relationship with the land. His articles often included observations on the natural settings and wildlife of the desert or the changing seasonal cycles.

South's articles stressed the family's respect for the fragile desert environment. He explained that searches for fuel were long and difficult because the family used only deadfall, in order not to reduce the desert's already sparse population of living plants. The juniper bushes which served as their annual Christmas trees were always carefully removed from a distant site and eventually replanted on the mountaintop.

Carol Roland is a historian for the California Department of Parks and Recreation.



Yaquitepec as it appears today,
severely eroded by wind and rain.

South was also an outspoken advocate of "naturalism" in dress and decorum. Although the Souths always appeared in photographs at least minimally dressed, Marshal forthrightly argued the benefits of nudism, which he saw as an integral part of their "natural" existence. A sign at the base of Ghost Mountain warned visitors of the family custom, explaining that it accorded with their ideals of "peace, freedom, sunshine, health, simplicity and bodily freedom."⁵ Probably no other aspect of Marshal's unconventional life and philosophy shocked *Desert Magazine* readers as much as this nudism; whenever the subject arose it provoked a flurry of letters to the editor.

No matter what his immediate topic, South evoked a strong sense of kinship between his family and the earlier desert-dwelling Indians. The photographs and drawings which accompanied the articles effectively accented his association with Native American life. Several photographs show Marshal barefoot, clad only in a loin cloth, his shoulder-length hair caught in an embroidered headband. In one particularly striking photo, he stands in front of Yaquitepec wrapped in a blanket, in a pose very reminiscent of one of Maynard Dixon's Pueblo portraits.⁶ The South children were frequent photographic subjects and were often portrayed engaging in "Native American" tasks: shooting a bow and arrow, making pottery, or doing their lessons on the ground under the ramada. Many photographs and drawings emphasized the children's close relationship with nature. Indian and Indian-style blankets, rugs, and ollas further heightened the sense of an affinity with native cultures.⁷

Marshal's feeling of spiritual kinship with Native American and, to a lesser extent, Hispanic culture was sincere. The lyricism and passion

In the "Art of Living" series, Marshal used photographs to strengthen the suggestion that the Souths were kin to the Cahuilla who once inhabited the territory around Ghost Mountain.



DESERT, AUGUST 1940

of his writing is clearly grounded in genuine experience. Yet he was also aware of the appeal of the exotic and unquestionably sought to emphasize these elements of the family's existence at the expense of the more mundane.

The tendency to obscure realities to obtain an effect is clear in Marshal's treatment of his and Tanya's origins. Only the barest biographical details can be pieced together about South and his wife. Although his magazine articles provided intimate portraits of his family, Marshal was deliberately vague concerning his and Tanya's former lives. From time to time in his articles, South hinted at some distant but deeply felt Cahuilla ancestry. In reality he was born in London in 1886 and migrated to the United States about 1906. Sometime around 1911 he moved to California and was living in the San Diego area at least in the years immediately prior to his desert move. According to his obituary notice, Marshal had been married once before and had a child, Marshal South, Jr., by his first marriage.⁸

Tanya was born in 1898. According to Marshal's article in the *Saturday Evening Post* she grew up in New York City and was a published poet before their marriage. In the *Desert* series he also alluded to her having been a teacher.⁹ Although the articles implied that the South children were born in the primitive solitude of Ghost Mountain, they were all born in a hospital in San Diego. Rider was born in 1933, Rudyard in 1938, and Victoria in 1940.¹⁰ The children were a central focus of the "Art of Living" series. Marshal relied heavily on their adventures for his material, weaving anecdotes about the children's latest discoveries, their "pets," and their lessons into all his stories. Much of the charm of the



Until they completed a system of cisterns to capture and store rainwater, the Souths had to carry their entire water supply up the mountain.

Desert Magazine series derived from its portrayal of the South children growing up in the natural, unfettered environment of their desert home.

The precise mix of fact and fantasy in Marshal's accounts of life at Yaquitepec will probably never be known.¹¹ But the image he created inspired an avid following. The "Art of Living" series was immensely successful. The termination of the series at the end of its first year brought numerous requests for "more" of Marshal South. A letter which appeared in the March 1941 issue of *Desert Magazine* clearly explained the appeal of South's message.

You see Marshal South is the "escape" of a lot of people running on tread mills, racing in squirrel cages, slaves to businesses, jobs, possessions and conventions. Lots of us know full well that our striving is futile and the more we get the heavier the load, but convention and modern life has so cast its spell upon us that we cannot pull away from it.

*So we escape through Marshal South. He does the things we would like to do . . . he lives our dream life for us . . .*¹²

South's ideas were not simply an oddity, nor was his life in the desert merely an expression of personal eccentricities. The themes he discussed—disillusionment with the modern world and materialism, the superior values of Native American culture and an awareness of nature and respect for the environment—found expression in the work of several California and southwestern artists and writers from the late nineteenth century through the 1940s. In California, the writer, editor, and publicist Charles Lummis was one of the first to call attention to the richness and vitality of traditional Indian and Hispanic cultures.¹³ William Keith and Maynard Dixon, both friends and associates of

All of Marshal's writings emphasized the strong respect for the environment and the close rapport with nature that grew out of the family's primitive life.



DESERT, APRIL 1940

Lummis, sought to capture the dignity and pathos of Indian peoples and the stark beauty and simplicity of the desert landscape in their canvases.¹⁴ In the southwestern colonies of Taos and Santa Fe during the 1920s and 1930s, many artists idealized the stability, permanence, and communitarian values of the neighboring Pueblo Indians. Mable Dodge Luhan, one of the leading figures of the Taos art colony, wrote influential articles for popular and literary journals which argued that Indian culture held the key to redeeming a twentieth century world racing toward destruction through materialism and violence. Among those attracted to Mable Luhan's message were writers D.H. Lawrence and Robinson Jeffers, and painter Georgia O'Keefe.¹⁵

We do not know whether Marshal South was aware of the work of the California and southwestern artists and writers who shared his admiration for Indian culture. He did not acknowledge any particular literary or artistic influences. But articles on Lummis, Maynard Dixon, and several southwestern artists appeared in *Desert Magazine* contemporaneous with Marshal's series.¹⁶ It is hard to imagine that South, who was obviously well read, could have been entirely unaware that other artists and writers advocated ideas very similar to his.

Today South is remembered principally for his peculiar lifestyle. His literary significance has been obscured by his more obvious exoticism, but the South family's life at Yaquitepec is inseparable from its literary embodiment. The "fact" of their experiment—that they lived an austere existence on the top of Ghost Mountain in the middle of the Colorado Desert for sixteen years—fascinated their contemporaries and continues to exert a powerful hold on our imaginations. Unusual as their life was, it was the vividness and charm of Marshal's writing that brought



Rider and Victoria under the ramada. Homemade jerky is drying over them.

Yaquitepec to life for hundreds of others. In the "Art of Living" series he succeeded in turning his family's "experiment" into a twentieth-century version of *The Swiss Family Robinson*. It is this synthesis of real life and literary fantasy that makes South's work a unique contribution to the literature of primitivism. While other writers admired Indian ways and advocated the virtues of primitive living, South actually attempted to strip away what he viewed as the hypocrisy of modern life and return to a more basic and honest existence.

The Souths' desert odyssey came to an abrupt and unhappy ending in 1946. Tanya divorced Marshal and, with their three children, moved to San Diego to begin a new, more "normal" life. Randall Henderson, long-time editor of *Desert Magazine*, attributed the breakup to the inevitable problems that result from two creative, artistic temperaments living together in isolation.¹⁷ Local newspapers, however, seized on the exotic aspects of the Souths' life and sensationalized the story with allegations of "privation" and "cruelty."¹⁸ Whatever the real causes, the divorce was acrimonious and left very bitter feelings. Marshal moved to the nearby town of Julian, where he died in 1948. Tanya remained in San Diego, contributing poetry to *Desert Magazine* until the 1950s.

The ruins of Yaquitepec are a popular destination for visitors to Anza Borrego Desert State Park, which now encircles Ghost Mountain. Each year hundreds of visitors trudge the long, rocky trail to the summit, lured by the story of the Souths' desert adventure. But, despite the continued interest in the slowly crumbling Yaquitepec, Tanya has consistently declined to discuss her life at Ghost Mountain. Her children have honored her request for silence.¹⁹ CHS

See notes beginning on page 69.

A LOST RESOURCE

Mitchell Postel



Huge shell mounds all around San Francisco Bay attest to the importance of shellfish in the diet of the earliest human inhabitants of the Bay Area—and to the hospitality of bay waters to various crustaceans.¹ Thus in the 1850s, with miners willing to pay up to \$20 for a plate of oysters like those for which they had developed a passion in the East, it is little wonder that Yankee entrepreneurs looked for a way to satisfy such a lucrative market. As it turned out, the key to their success was the transcontinental railroad—completed in 1869—which made it possible to transplant eastern oysters to western waters.

Meanwhile, a more distant market inspired an industry dominated by Chinese who hunted native bay shrimp primarily for export in dried form. As the harvest of crustaceans grew, however, the bay fish population was declining. Eventually, it was learned that the destroyer of the fish was a combination of overfishing and pollution. At the time, the Chinese shrimp fishers were blamed and ultimately hounded out of business. Yet the fish did not recover, and the collapse of the oyster business testified to the more fundamental threat to marine resources. Set against the backdrop of rising concern over the dwindling fish popula-



SHELLFISH IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY

tion, the story of the oyster and shrimp industries offers instructive insights into the effects of racial prejudice on the ability to assess and solve far-reaching problems.

San Francisco Bay oysters (*Ostrea lurida*) were smaller than the eastern oysters (*Crassostrea virginica*) familiar to American pioneers, and their flavor was "coppery."² In 1851 a group of San Francisco merchants learned that Shoalwater Bay (now Willapa Bay) in what is now the state of Washington was home to beds of oysters biologically similar to those

of San Francisco Bay but larger. Pooling their capital, they dispatched a Captain Terry to the northern territory to bring back oysters for the local market. Unfortunately for Captain Terry and his fellow investors, a fire destroyed his ship, the *Robert Bruce*, before he reached his destination.³

Two years later Captain John Stillwell Morgan, one of Terry's backers, became the first entrepreneur to ship a cargo of oysters from Shoalwater Bay to San Francisco.⁴ Born April 3, 1828, at Westfield, Richard County, New York, Morgan was the eldest of ten children and went to sea as a ship's cook in his teens. In 1846 he received command of the

(overleaf) In the late nineteenth century, commercial canning made the distribution of oysters possible throughout the United States. These images were probably developed for can labels.

Low tide revealed the extent of the Morgan Company's oyster beds off San Mateo County. Tidal action brought rich food supplies to the fattening mollusks.



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schooner *Telegraph* carrying oysters between Virginia, New York, and Philadelphia. After learning of the discovery of gold in California, Morgan sailed from New York in the bark *Magdella* and reached San Francisco in December, 1849. That winter he experimented with marketing native oysters before setting out for a brief term as a gold seeker. In 1851 he joined the Shoalwater Bay project,⁵ and from the time it became viable his firm was one of three that gathered 125,000 bushels of oysters each year in Shoalwater Bay and brought them to San Francisco for immediate sale or short-term storage in the northern waters of the bay. Morgan's company, harvesting 50,000 bushels a year and occupying 100 underwater acres in Shoalwater Bay and 30 acres of storage beds off Sausalito, was the largest.⁶

Between 1867 and 1872 several factors transformed the oyster business. In 1867 all three companies suffered heavy losses

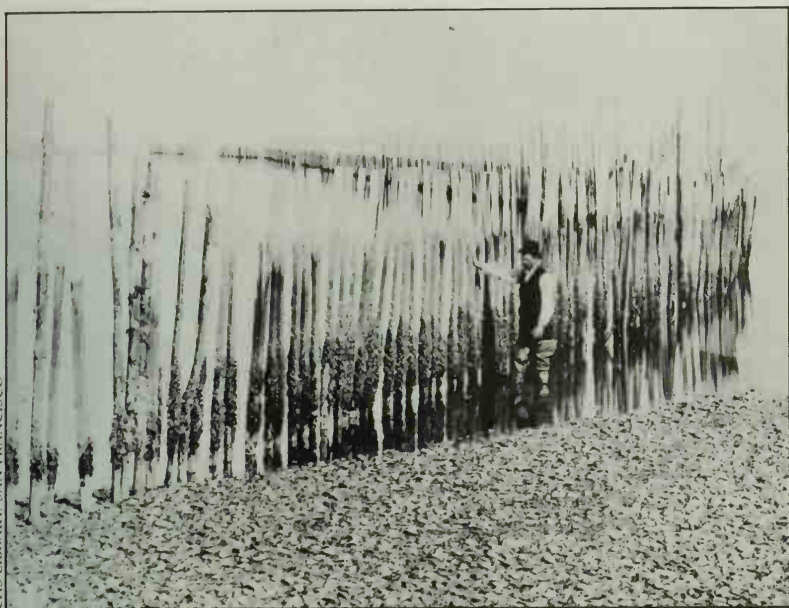
when an unknown disease killed a major portion of the Shoalwater Bay oyster population.⁷ Once again, the oystermen sought new sources for their product, and a Mexican Oyster Company began doing business in 1868.⁸ Its success was shortlived, however, because in 1869 the completion of the transcontinental railroad changed the entire industry. In the first year of transcontinental rail service, A. Booth and Company, a firm based in Chicago, brought three carloads of live eastern oysters to San Francisco. As it turned out, this new inventory glutted the market, and the firm experimented with longer-term storage of the easterns in San Francisco Bay, probably off Sausalito. The gamble proved successful. Not only did the oysters survive, but they fattened considerably; their superior flavor enabled them to replace mollusks from Washington and Mexico almost immediately.⁹

In 1871 John Stillwell Morgan bought out the holdings of the A. Booth Company in the North Bay, beginning the process of consolidation which would eventually give him control of the industry. In 1872, Samuel J. Purseglove opened new territory to the industry by acquiring underwater lands surrounding a

wreck known as Corville's Hulk just north of Seventeen Mile Slough, close to today's Millbrae in San Mateo County.¹⁰ A year later Morgan followed Purseglove's Corville and Company to the San Mateo County bay line.¹¹

The transfer of the oyster industry from Sausalito to San Mateo County—marked by Purseglove's and Morgan's acquisitions—was the result of environmental factors. Cold fresh water and silt flowed into the bay every year from the flooding of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and hydraulic mining in the Sierra Nevada in the 1860s and 1870s added thousands of tons of mining debris to the silt normally carried by the rivers. The impact was greatest in the North Bay, where even the short-term storage of Shoalwater Bay oysters proved precarious. In 1861–1862, for example, nearly the whole crop was smothered by silt. Longer-term storage of eastern oysters required more sheltered beds, which were available in the South Bay, away from the major river outlets.¹² The best conditions for oyster cultivation were off San Mateo County, where storms and currents are less severe than in other parts of the bay. As oystermen discovered the

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Scantling fences kept most rays out of the oyster beds while providing a convenient home for mussels and barnacles.

advantages of the shallow portions of the bay off San Mateo County, underwater land values rose. By 1890 usable lots were selling at \$100 an acre—up from \$1 an acre originally charged by the state in sales to private developers.¹³

In the late nineteenth century, the oyster became the most popular form of seafood in the United States. French visitor P. de Broca observed in 1876, "This delicious article of food has become so necessary with every class of the population that scarcely a town in the whole country can be found without its regular supply . . . it is considered one of the most common and cheap means of subsistence."¹⁴ In the early 1880s, the United States ranked as the greatest oyster producer in the world, outstripping its closest competitor, France, by millions of pounds.¹⁵ By 1891, the gross value of the U.S. oyster crop was \$15 million, more than five times the value of the next most important fishery resource, salmon.¹⁶ In California from 1895 to 1904 the oyster harvest was the most important marine catch, valued at close to a million dollars in better years,¹⁷ and the San Mateo County beds were the only substantial source for the bivalve in the

state. Their annual harvest was the sixth largest in the nation and the primary supply for the Pacific Coast and the Northwest.¹⁸

Eastern oysters grew three times as rapidly in the nutritious and calm waters off the San Mateo County bay line as on their native beds.¹⁹ They did not reproduce, however, a fact the growers recognized only after some years of attempting to raise seedling oysters to the spawning stage. The popular explanation asserted that the immigrant mollusks died from over-growth just when they might be expected to reproduce, but naturalists from the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries suggested in the early 1880s that water temperature was the likely culprit. They found that native oysters spawned at minimum temperatures of 57 to 61 degrees Fahrenheit, but easterns required minimums of 66 to 69 degrees. Although the mean winter temperature of the bay is higher than that of the transported seedlings' native waters, the bay's summer temperature does not normally reach the highs of east coast waters.²⁰ To maintain an eastern oyster business in San Francisco Bay, it became apparent, live oysters must be shipped from eastern beds annu-

ally. Oysters sent to California came from the New York vicinity. Mature oysters intended for immediate consumption came from York Bay, Blue Point, Staten Island, Rockaway, and Norfolk and represented about one-fifth of the shipment. "Seed" oysters came from Newark Bay and the North River and arrived one state beyond the infant blister period, ready to "set" on a clean surface.

The seedlings were so small that a barrel held from three to five thousand. The eighteen-day rail journey—during which up to one quarter could be expected to die—cost ten dollars per barrel. Shipments arrived in the spring and fall in special double-walled cars built to protect the vulnerable freight from hazardous weather conditions. In the heyday of production, an average of 124 railroad cars full of easterns came to the South San Francisco Bay for planting every year.²¹

Before the seeds arrived, oyster growers cut hills and filled valleys under water to create level beds, over which a layer of freshly washed shells was spread to provide a clean surface for the young oysters or "spat."²² When the seeds arrived, laborers piled them onto shallow flat-bottomed scows and took the infant

Seasonal crews, usually of Scandinavian origin, worked on flat-bottomed scows to bring mature oysters up from the bay floor.



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shellfish to the Dumbarton and Belmont beds to shovel them as evenly as possible into the bay. These beds—in a protected area where storms and currents seldom disturbed the bottom—served as nurseries for the seedlings. When the oysters reached a larger size, they were transplanted to raising areas off Millbrae and San Mateo where the tidal currents moved more swiftly and brought more floating food past the rapidly fattening mollusks.²³

Each year the companies hired perhaps a hundred men at harvest time, recruited "from the ranks of the sea-going class nearly always numerous about the wharves of San Francisco. . . ."²⁴ About ninety percent of them were of Scandinavian origin. The crews gathered the oysters from scows and then used floats (barges kept buoyant by large air boxes) as temporary receptacles to store the yield. After the harvest the work gangs returned to the floats to clean and "cull" the catch. Later a fleet of about six sloops transported the "sea fruit" to the San Francisco market or to nearby processing plants. The sloops displaced two to eighteen tons and carried two- or three-man crews.²⁵

Oyster operations faced a number

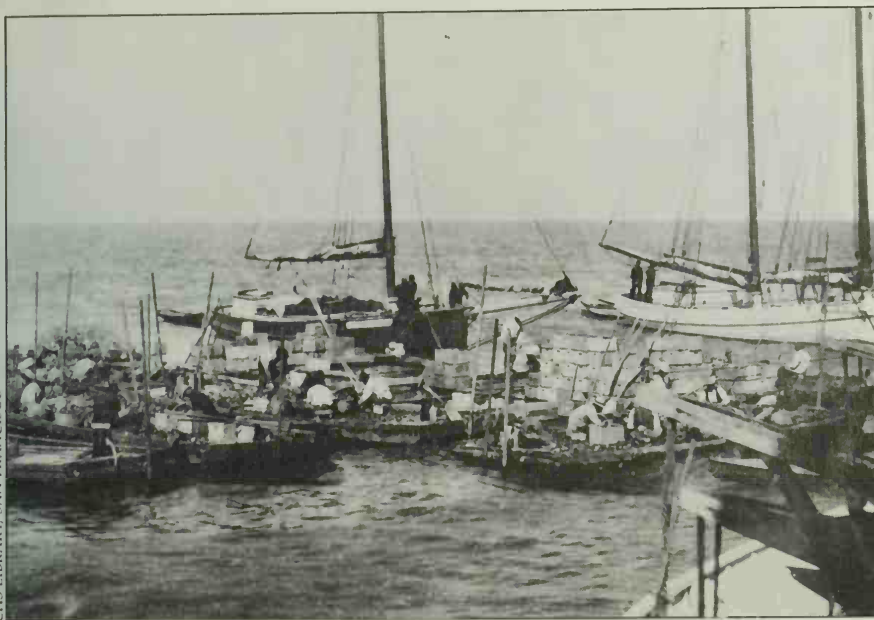
of enemies. Two could be combatted. From the natural world came the bat stingray (*Aetobatis californicus*), which found the beds of stationary young oysters an ideal spring and summer diet. From the eastern shore of the bay came the oyster pirate, a human marauder who sailed at night to pilfer the valuable shellfish. Growers fenced the beds with fourteen-foot wooden piles driven into the mud a few inches apart to keep the stingrays out, and they hired guards to watch for two-legged intruders from oyster houses built on pilings above the beds.²⁶ Other enemies were harder to fight. The eastern drill (*Urosalpinx cinerea*), accidentally included in some barrels of oysters, was second in destructive ability only to the eastern starfish. Unlike the eastern oyster, the drill reproduced well in San Francisco Bay waters, and unlike the native drill (*Acanthina pirata*), the eastern drill had no natural enemies in its adopted home.²⁷

The industry prospered nonetheless. In the peak production years, Californians paid about two dollars per hundred oysters, twice the one-dollar-per-hundred rate common in the East.²⁸ The higher costs of production by what was known as the

"California method"²⁹ of shipping and transplanting oysters was only one factor in the higher price. The other was domination of the San Mateo oyster industry by a single company after 1886.

In the 1870s, six rivals competed for the lion's share of the oyster business: the Morgan Oyster Company, A. Booth and Company, Corville and Company, Doane and Company, Swanberg and West, and the M. B. Moraghan Oyster Company. John Stillwell Morgan bought out the A. Booth and Company holdings in the North Bay in 1872 and began obtaining properties off present-day Millbrae in 1874. In the same period, Morgan's partner, Thomas Crellin, relinquished most of his substantial underwater San Mateo County acreage to the company,³⁰ and in 1875 the Morgan Company and Doane and Company began to acquire underwater lots together.³¹ The two companies merged in 1886. Swanberg and West absorbed Corville and Company in 1885 and a year later merged with Morgan.³²

The gigantic new Morgan Company included several important oyster families in its leadership. Officers in 1886 were



The Morgan Company maintained a fleet of sloops to transport the oyster catch to the San Francisco market for immediate consumption or to processing plants for canning.

John S. and Frederic Morgan; John, Thomas, and T. A. Crellin; and Willard C. and Isaac Y. Doane. Thirty years later the surnames of company officials demonstrated the continued domination of the industry by these families. In 1916, the directors were F.C. Morgan, T.A. Crellin, C.W. Doane, and C.O. Swanberg.³³ Only M.B. Moraghan avoided Morgan's consolidation effort. Moraghan had been involved in the Shoalwater Bay trade as early as 1868 and he followed the oyster business to the South Bay in 1878, setting up his operations alongside Morgan's off today's Millbrae. He died in 1892, and his son Francis H. Moraghan kept the family's interests independent until 1912, when the Morgan Company finally bought out its last competitor.³⁴ By 1923, the Morgan Company—which continued buying underwater lots throughout its existence—owned 16,583.12 acres off San Mateo County, 13,546.65 off Alameda County, and 1,697.27 off Santa Clara County.³⁵

Morgan's only outside competition came in the form of canned product from the East.³⁶ With increasing production off local beds, however, importation from the East declined even as demand on the Pacific Coast increased.³⁷ By 1892, the year the

local corporation adopted the famed "Eagle" brand label,³⁸ the Morgan Oyster company dominated the canned and fresh oyster market from Victoria to San Diego and from Salt Lake City to Honolulu. During the "golden years," the company ran six oyster houses, each of which planted, handled, guarded and harvested the "sea fruit."³⁹

For the Morgan company's officers, who were also its owners, the prospect of maintaining a monopoly promised corporate security. For the Pacific coast consumer, however, the monopoly meant high prices for oysters. According to some federal observers, the progress of the entire industry also was adversely affected. In 1888 Charles H. Townsend of the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries reported to Washington that consolidation in the California oyster business had retarded improvements. He found that eastern oysters *could* propagate in San Francisco Bay "in certain favorable localities," but that because of the monopolistic condition of the market the controlling interests "had no need to change the methods of a business already profitable." Townsend found that water temperatures off Dumbarton Point might rise high

enough in the summer to suit eastern oyster reproduction and actually discovered second generation easterns in some places. He criticized the Morgan company for not doing research to improve its standard operations or even to keep up with advances made elsewhere. "The methods of nearly twenty years ago are still in vogue," he charged.⁴⁰

While the imported oyster fishery was expanding to become the most lucrative food-fish resource in the bay, native bay shrimp (*Crango francisorum*) became the basis of another important marine industry once labor was available to exploit it. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 released thousands of Chinese workers to seek other employment. Many Chinese who had been fishermen in their native Guangdong Province sent for their specialized gear to get a start in the fishing industry along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers and in San Francisco Bay.⁴¹

Although the first Chinese fishing camp in California dates back to 1854 when a group of Chinese set up a small village south of Rincon Point

Chinese fishing village at Point San Pedro near San Rafael. The drying tables appear to hold fish or vegetables; shrimp were dried on beds behind the dwellings.



NAT'L MARITIME MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO

in San Francisco,⁴² state laws and the pressures of local white fishermen generally kept the Chinese from making much of an inroad on already established fisheries. After 1869 Chinese fishermen turned to shrimp, for which there was little white competition. Only eight boats, all manned by Italians from San Francisco and fishing only in deep waters, were in the business in 1869. They were quickly outproduced and undersold by the Chinese, who brought to this fishery more efficient equipment and methods.⁴³

Chinese shrimp fishermen formed small "China camps" or "fish yards" along the bay shore of Marin, San Francisco, and San Mateo counties. One of the earliest camps settled in the state was situated on the southwest side of Corkscrew Creek at Redwood slough, close to Redwood City. Evidence reveals it dates back to 1869. By 1880, a camp just south of the San Mateo-San Francisco county line was the most important on the bay. A federal survey from that year reveals a fish yard of 24 men equipped with 100 nets and 11 junks. A decade later, camps at Point San Bruno (then called China Point) and Hunters Point eclipsed all others in production capabilities. Other

shrimp camps along the San Mateo county bayshore included one at Broadway Street and the bay off Burlingame and one off little Coyote Point, close to the Morgan Oyster house.⁴⁴ Federal census rolls reveal that by 1880, 177 Chinese fishermen had settled in San Mateo county, and this count is probably too low.⁴⁵

The shrimpers constructed their vessels of redwood in canoe shape with flat bottoms to facilitate maneuvering in shallow water. Propelled by lateen sail and oars, a contemporary observer remarked, "they sail well, remaining free, and are light and buoyant . . ."⁴⁶ Three- to five-man crews worked these junks, which in the 1870s and 1880s were twelve to twenty-five feet long.⁴⁷ By 1900, some junks were fifty feet long.⁴⁸ The Chinese fishermen used imported "bag" or "trap" nets forty-two feet long. The cone-shaped nets had one-inch mesh at the narrow end and larger openings at the wide end. In the water, they were held open by a combination of weights on one side and floats on the other. Each boat dropped a set of thirty or more nets side by side with the wide end of the cone facing the current. Shrimp, which cannot swim against a current, were trapped as the water

moved through the bags. In the late 1890s, daily catches averaged 7,000 pounds per boat.⁴⁹ The fishermen took their catch to their camps, where wharf, boiling vat, drying ground, storehouse, and living quarters were located. To the outsider the village appeared as a cluster of "small rude shacks of rough, unpainted boards . . ."⁵⁰ which seemed "devoid of all suggestion of comfort and cleanliness."⁵¹

Depending on market conditions, less than half the catch was boiled in camp and sent by launch to the fresh fish markets on Vallejo Street in San Francisco, where the shrimp sold for ten cents a pound. The rest were boiled in salted water, spread out to dry and harden, then crushed. The resulting mass was placed in a rotary-fan winnowing machine, where the meat was separated from the shell by hand cranking. Shrimp companies exported both meat and shell, mostly to China, where the meat was consumed in its dry state and the shell used for fertilizer.⁵²

Some of the camps acted as their own companies, buying the catch from the individual fishermen and then processing and selling the shrimp on their own. In a few others, individuals of the village leased the



Mending shrimp nets on the drying ground, Point San Pedro. The cone-shaped nets were specially designed to capture swimming shrimp pushed by tidal currents. This site is partially visible in the center of the photograph on the facing page.

camp, boats, and equipment from companies. Most of the yards, however, were owned outright by companies which paid the fishermen and directed operations and which usually ran several camps. Each colony maintained its own fishing rights, and their territories were recognized by all. The companies, all Chinese managed and all based in San Francisco's Chinatown, varied from decade to decade, with ownership of the camps changing hands accordingly. One of the greatest firms was the Fook On Lung company which controlled all three camps off south San Francisco.⁵³

By 1892 the Chinese fish colonies on the San Mateo County bay line employed at least 200 men who used 48 vessels, 328 bag nets, and \$7,800 worth of shoreline properties to harvest and process the shrimp catch. That year the industry peaked as fishermen captured almost 1.5 million pounds of shrimp, valued at more than \$66,000. This represented more than one quarter of the total San Francisco Bay catch, and therefore more than one quarter of the total for the entire Pacific slope.⁵⁴

The success of the industry placed it in jeopardy, however. Since the 1880s fishermen and concerned ob-

servers had noticed declines in the fish resources of San Francisco Bay. Awareness had been growing worldwide that food-fish were decreasing, and overfishing was believed to be the culprit. The United States established its Commission of Fish and Fisheries in 1870 to "investigate into the decrease of food-fishes in the waters of the United States." Advances in refrigeration and transportation had enhanced the importance of fish and shellfish as food, but marine resources were threatened by "the absence of concurrent protective legislation of a sufficiently stringent character to prevent unnecessary waste of the fish during the critical period of spawning."⁵⁵ Salmon, the United States's number two commercial fish product, was already seriously damaged in the East. In California, the commission saw an opportunity to learn from the failures of eastern fisheries before permanent harm was done. It established the largest salmon hatching station in the world on the McCloud River in Shasta County to counter the effects of human damage to California rivers.⁵⁶

In the 1880s, investigators D. S. Jordan and C. H. Gilbert interviewed oldtimers who had been involved in

California fishing since the 1850s. They heard that "salmon . . . [were] . . . not nearly so abundant in the [Sacramento] river as formerly . . ." and that "all kinds of fish" were "becoming scarcer in the neighborhood of San Francisco . . ."⁵⁷ Although some observers blamed the voracious sea lion for the decline in fish, older hands recognized that even sea lion populations had declined since the 1850s.⁵⁸ Fingers began to point at the Chinese colonies, and in 1881 the Commission of Fish and Fisheries assigned Richard Rathbun to study the shrimp fishermen. He concluded:

There is little doubt but that the consumption of shrimp in and about San Francisco exceeds their rate of increase, and that they must eventually and at no distant day become much less abundant than they are at present. This is to be regretted not only because of their great value as an article of food and profit to mankind directly, but also for the reason that they form a very important part of the food of fishes, the supply of which has already become very nearly exhausted in the Bay of San Francisco. It seems imperative that some restrictions should be placed at once upon the catching of shrimp in the vicinity of San Francisco,

Chinese shrimp village at Point San Bruno.
The number of boats and docking areas
suggest a focal point of marine activity.



NAT'L MARITIME MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO

if it is desired to keep up this important industry.⁵⁹

Because the Chinese dominated the shrimp business, racial prejudice entered the picture. As early as 1862, white fishermen in San Francisco petitioned the state government to impose special taxes on Chinese who engaged in commercial fishing.⁶⁰ In 1880, the legislature outlawed shrimp fishing by Chinese, but the law was declared unconstitutional before it was enforced.⁶² White San Francisco fishermen then petitioned that old laws prohibiting the destructive fyke net and sturgeon trawl be enforced and that standards be developed to govern the size of the bag net's mesh.⁶³ The *San Francisco Bulletin* often editorialized on the "heathen Chinaman" and alerted the general population to their abuses. "Thousands of young salmon from 2 to 4 inches in length," it reported in the mid-1880s, "may be found among the large supplies brought in daily to fish shops in the Chinese quarters, and this is undoubtedly the true explanation of the alarming decline in the quantities of the best fish. The process continued for a few years will render salmon and other favorite species a rarity in these waters, and some enactment seems to

be called for, to afford protection from this particular encroachment of the Chinese scourge."⁶⁴

California authorities took a more nuanced position. The state legislature had appointed its own Commissioners on Fisheries on February 9, 1871, to "investigate losses" and "determine protective measures" to safeguard California's fish resources from the destruction salmon fishing had experienced in New England.⁶⁵ In their first report on the Chinese in 1874, the state commissioners expressed concern that unrestrained harvesting of shrimp would threaten the food supply of ocean fish which habitually came into the bay to feed.⁶⁶ A State Senate committee investigating the camps in the same year found that the Chinese were not a serious threat, however. Its agents observed repeated bag net hauls and reported that only negligible numbers of food fish were brought in with the shrimp, since the weights on the nets dragged their small mesh below the areas where young commercial fish normally searched for food.⁶⁷ Five years later, the Commissioners on Fisheries noted that overfishing contributed to the decline of fish populations but that white fishermen "by their indiscriminate

destruction of young fish, and uncompromising slaughter of adults during the spawning season appear anxious to hasten . . ." the destruction of their own industry. Other factors were also at work, they said, and cited ash and cinder pollution by ferryboats and steamers as well as what was perhaps the most serious threat to the commercially important marine population: "the constant fouling of the waters and consequent destruction of life by the foetid impourings of our sewers."⁶⁸

The federal government remained critical of the Chinese fishermen and the state's lack of action against them. United States agents felt as the white fishermen did, that abuses by the Chinese were flagrant and that state officials were largely ineffective against them. In 1888 federal observer A. B. Alexander wrote that the Chinese fishermen had ". . . little regard for the law (if they can evade it) and absolutely no consideration for the preservation of young fish from destruction." He criticized a lack of proper concern by California's government and concluded: *The Chinese put the authorities to more trouble than all the other fishermen combined . . . During the past year, 47 sturgeon trawls and several fyke nets were*



The decline in all San Francisco Bay fisheries prompted the public belief that Chinese shrimp fishing was disrupting the food chain.

captured. There seems to be no way of ascertaining the number of sturgeon trawls and fyke nets employed on the rivers and bays adjacent to San Francisco Bay; but, judging from the frequent reports coming from different sources, it is to be presumed that illegal fishing is followed considerably. The quantity and kinds of fish which the Chinese of San Francisco expose for sale and export would indicate that a large percentage of their food-fish are caught by illicit methods.⁶⁹

Although the California legislature passed laws against the catching and drying of young food-fish and made efforts to enforce them, federal agents charged that the Chinese covered up illegal catches by boiling the fish down with the shrimp and selling them for use as fertilizer.⁷⁰

By the mid-1880s, the California State Commission of Fisheries was under pressure from federal authorities and private interests to change its policies toward the Chinese while its warnings on pollution went unheeded. In 1883, all three of the original leaders of the agency died. The new commissioners, A.B. Dibble, R.H. Buchingham, and J.D. Redding, admitted that they had "entered upon our duties as strangers to the business,"⁷¹ and decided that

a reappraisal of the shrimp industry seemed necessary. In 1884 the commission declared that "... the catch of all kinds of fish will decrease to a considerable extent in the next five years if the Chinese are allowed to fish with what is known as bag nets ...".⁷²

The stand against bag nets placed the commission firmly on the side of the anti-Chinese agitators. In 1886, the new commissioners took steps to confirm their new position and strengthen their agency in order to enforce existing laws. The commissioners' Report for 1885-1886 recommended that the United States Congress outlaw dried shrimp sales to China, which would reduce the market by more than half. It also suggested that the state government make funds available for "a strong and active patrol police" with deputy Commissioner W.C. Jones in command.⁷³ Although the legislature did not take decisive action on the bag net issue for years and the Congress never criminalized the dry shrimp trade, money was appropriated to employ a patrol force and build a launch for policing the San Francisco Bay and Delta rivers.⁷⁴ Between 1884 and 1900, the commission carried on a virtual war on Chi-

nese illegal fishing methods. In 1885 and 1886, 600 Chinese were arrested; 450 were convicted. For the next decade-and-a-half the arrest rate ran a bit less with about the same percentage of convictions.⁷⁵ In June of 1892, Deputy Thomas Tunstead recorded one episode:

We took a boat from Belmont to the Morgan Oyster Company's camp at the mouth of the slough, and we sailed from there in one of the company's oyster boats, dressed as fishermen ... From South Belmont we sailed to the mouth of the Redwood City slough, and overhauled the two boats of the Quen Man Lee & Co., and arrested the ten men, as their catch was fully one third small fish.,

A month later, Tunstead wrote of the court proceedings: "Went to San Mateo. The Chinamen were tried and convicted. Herald the fact that one jury has not shirked its duty."⁷⁶

John P. Babcock, another deputy working in the San Mateo area, was much less enthusiastic about the commission's work and questioned the necessity of harassing the shrimpers as much as the patrolers did:

... we went down the bay and arrested two Chinamen who were catching sturgeon with sturgeon lines, and took them

In the later years of the Chinese shrimp industry large juuks replaced the more numerous small vessels with which the industry had begun.



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to Redwood city to await trial . . . We have made almost weekly trips to the Chinese shrimp stations during the season of 1891–1892, and the constant howl that we do not enforce the law as regards to the Chinese is done for some other purpose than is apparent upon the surface. These camps are regularly and systematically overhauled, and all that we can do with the means at our hands is being done, to see that they do not destroy the young of fish. The drying beds at all of these camps are mostly free of small fish. I do not believe that the law is violated to the extent that is complained of.⁷⁷

A federal government investigation in 1896 found that shrimp exportation to China had declined.⁷⁸ Shrimp camps had decreased from as many as fifty during the 1880s to 26 in 1897.⁷⁹ In San Mateo County alone, population figures for Chinese fishermen dropped dramatically from 200 in 1890 to 28 in 1900.⁸⁰ By the turn of the century, the only camps left in the county were the three off San Bruno.⁸¹ The decline in numbers of Chinese shrimp fishermen and shrimp camps from the mid-1880s to 1900 reflected several factors. Improved techniques and the use of larger boats and nets eliminated the need for some of the smaller camps, and the once seem-

ingly bottomless market in China leveled off. Added to these changes were hounding by local white fishermen and harassment by state authorities. It can be assumed that for many of the Chinese, shrimp fishing had become a less and less desirable way to make a living.

Despite the progressive diminution of the shrimp trade, the state commission continued to assert that the most pressing problem hindering commercial fishing in the bay was the Chinese fisherman. In 1897, the commission engaged the services of an outside specialist, N. B. Scofield of Stanford University, to help support that position. Scofield based his report on studies of a colony near San Rafael, where he found that about half the shrimpers' catch consisted of small anchovy, midshipen, and sulpin, part of the principal diet of salmon. He recommended that fishing be stopped ". . . entirely during the time from April to October . . ."⁸² when the small fish are most abundant. This was also the period when shrimp fishing rendered its largest catches. By using the San Rafael camp for his study, Scofield perhaps

was not as fair to the Chinese as he might have been. Most of the important camps were off Hunters Point and San Mateo County, where there were many fewer small fish than in the North Bay. The commissioners, however, agreed that a seasonal law should be enacted by the state. Claiming that eighty percent of the shrimpers' catch was dried and shipped to China, they asked, "Why should our bay be depleted of small fish that the Chinese may carry on this export?"⁸³

The commissioners' unrelenting stand on the Chinese even in the face of the decline of shrimp fishing most likely stemmed from two sources. Commercial fish catches continued to fall, and by 1900 the commission had been arguing for seventeen years that elimination of the shrimpers could revive economically important marine populations. A certain amount of credibility was at stake. Moreover, since large portions of the white population believed that the Chinese represented a threat, the commissioners received a great deal of support from private and public sources. In December of 1897, for example, the *Redwood City Times Gazette* editorialized, "The next Legislature should lose no time

Changes in San Francisco Bay waters due to pollution and landfill played a crucial role in damaging all kinds of fisheries.



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ized that some shrimp dealers had stayed in business by supplementing their local fresh shrimp with a smuggling operation. Sending the dried shrimp in barrels and boxes labeled "seaweed," "fertilizer," "coffee," and "beans," the Chinese had kept up their lucrative overseas trade. The commissioners then asked the legislature to reinstitute the seasonal law in the hope that seasonal unemployment would drive experienced crews to seek other work and deprive the shrimp companies of their labor force.⁹³ The fatal blow to the shrimp industry came in 1910, when the legislature finally outlawed the bag net. The ban effectively destroyed the last vestiges of the original Chinese commercial shrimp fishing operations.⁹⁴

The commissioners expected alternative devices to be invented for catching shrimp without destroying the populations of other marine resources. After five years, however, this had not occurred, and shrimp virtually disappeared from the California market. Commercial interests and many individual consumers demanded that the shrimp trade be reinstated. In 1915, on the recommendation of the commission, shrimp fishing with bag nets became legal again in an area called District

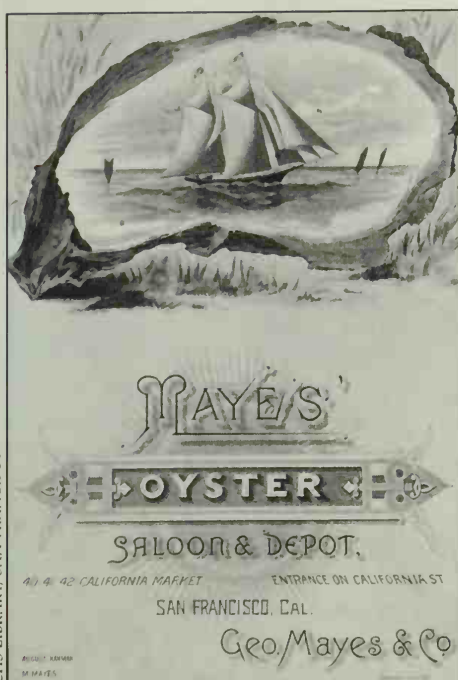
13 which encompassed all of San Francisco Bay south of Hunters Point. Somewhat of a revival occurred as the camps along Hunters Point began operations anew.⁹⁵

The rapid destruction of the shrimp industry in the first years of the new century diverted attention from the slower demise of the most important marine industries in the Bay Area. Between 1900 and 1940, the oyster business and other commercial fisheries gradually faded into oblivion, most likely due to the uncontrolled outflow of organic waste which infected the waters of the bay. Other man-related changes may also be blamed. Yet the government agency most responsible for the bay's welfare, the State Board of Fish Commissioners (renamed from Commissioners of Fisheries) was consumed in battle with the Chinese shrimpers and made no studies or recommendations to the legislature on how to counter the unknown forces that eventually destroyed the Morgan Company and its successors.

Pollution influenced the oyster market, perhaps even before it actually damaged the bivalve. As early

as 1880, British researcher Sir Charles Cameron had drawn connections between typhoid fever and contaminated shellfish. In 1904, studies by the United States government at Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, confirmed the potential danger when humans consumed oysters raised in polluted water. Periodic typhoid epidemics in the Bay Area at the turn of the century caused speculation that poisoned mollusks could have been the cause. The result was a marked decline in demand on the Pacific Coast for the oyster by 1905.⁹⁶

This was a severe setback for the Morgan Company, but worse was to come. Between 1908 and 1917, oyster seedlings stopped attaching themselves to the man-made beds off Belmont and Dumbarton Point, because the build-up of sewage in the bay drained so much oxygen from waters around the oyster beds that free swimming larval oysters could not survive.⁹⁷ Since seed could no longer be used, the Morgan Company had to obtain more developed easterns for planting. Fewer of the larger, more mature animals could be shipped in each barrel, so transportation costs went up, and competitors from a renewed Washington



Although the San Francisco Bay oyster fishery never regained its viability, the taste for oysters is well established. Mayes' Oyster Saloon and Depot is still feeding hungry San Franciscans.

oyster business were able to make inroads on the Morgan Company's marketing domain.

Although older oysters could survive higher degrees of organic pollution, they too suffered from oxygen deficiencies. Prolonged periods of exposure to organically polluted waters depleted the mature oysters' internal food reserves (mostly glycogen). As early as 1908 oystermen noted that many of the larger mollusks were dying in the beds and that the majority of those that survived were thin and watery—an inferior product when compared to the competition.

Besides organic pollution, other environmental problems were noted by growers and state officials. Chemical wastes were found to poison oysters. As fresh water was diverted for agricultural purposes in the Santa Clara Valley rather than flowing into the bay, there was less flushing out of organic and chemical waste in the bay, and less oxygen was introduced into it. Recently, ecologists have discovered that the reclamation of marshlands circling the bay also decreased the oxygen content in the water, for the various disappearing marsh plants had a significant role in creating the vital element.⁹⁸

In 1911 the Morgan Company launched a new strategy by buying beds in Humboldt Bay from such pioneer oystermen as Louis Hegburg and Olaf Thoresen.⁹⁹ The company management also decided in November of 1916 to diversify. New provisions in its Articles of Incorporation declared that the company might thereafter engage in "... manufacture, export, import ..." plus buying, selling, and dealing "... in goods wares merchandise and property of every class and description ..." Furthermore, the company could "own, buy, hold leases or otherwise acquire, sell, rent, exchange and generally deal in all kinds of real property, both improved and unimproved, to farm, reclaim and cultivate the same for purposes of sale or otherwise ..." ¹⁰⁰ Expansion and diversification did not save the Morgan Company, however. On December 31, 1923, president F. C. Morgan¹⁰¹ sold most of its holdings to the Pacific Portland Cement Company, and smaller parcels to a new concern, the Consolidated Oyster Company.¹⁰² Although Pacific used the Redwood City station as its base of operations for decades, for the most part the Morgan houses were abandoned and stood as land-

marks around the bay until one by one they were destroyed by the elements or torn down.¹⁰³

During the long collapse of the Morgan Company and the oyster fishery, various resources were available to the Board of Fish Commissioners which might have contributed to the formulation of new recommendations if the board had made use of them. From 1865 to 1892 American and European naturalists wrote more than 500 scholarly works on oysters and their cultivation,¹⁰⁴ and in the 1880s the United States Fish Commission set up a laboratory at Saint Jerome Creek in Maryland to experiment with propagation methods.¹⁰⁵ Charles Townsend's 1888 studies of the Morgan Company's beds off the San Mateo County bay line went virtually unnoticed for decades. He indicted the Morgan Company for not expanding its research efforts and offered some extraordinary ideas for improving the business. Perhaps his most perceptive suggestion was a question. Townsend asked why Bay Area oyster growers did not experiment with the Pacific (Japanese) oyster, which was bigger than the eastern and might reproduce in the bay. Not until the state of Washington successfully

Table 1
Peak Years—Production of Oysters
in California with Beds off San Mateo County
as the Exclusive Supplier*

(pounds of meat)		(dollars)	Percentage of
Year	Volume	Value	California total
1888	910,000	509,000	100
1889	1,023,050	571,525	100
1890	1,059,275	592,137	100
1891	1,106,910	618,455	100
1892	1,248,515	698,252	100
1895	1,145,452	539,000	100
1899	2,730,000	867,000	100

Table 2
Carloads of Seed to the
San Mateo County Beds during
Peak Period of Exportation**

Year	Carloads	Year	Carloads
1887	125	1894	107
1888	90	1895	134
1889	81	1896	111
1890	124	1897	69
1891	262	1898	124
1892	169	1899	87
1893	129		

experimented with the Japanese species after 1914 did the California Board of Fish Commissioners become aware of the potentials involved in introducing the Pacific variety.¹⁰⁶

Even after 1917, when the Bay Area oyster industry was widely recognized as a failing venture, no investigation was made by the board to determine why. Only L. Packard of the University of California hypothesized in a scholarly study "... that the molluscan fauna of the bay [are] undergoing modifications due to the close proximity of the cities around the bay."¹⁰⁷ Finally in 1931 state authorities contacted federal sources for advice on procedures for planting Pacific oysters.¹⁰⁸ During the two-year period from 1932 to 1934, the Division of Fish and Game (renamed from State Board of Fish Commissioners) found that Japanese oysters indeed offered a good bet for reviving the industry since they grew more rapidly than the easterns. The division also finally determined that, "One of the greatest hinderances to the cultivation of oysters as well as other shellfish in California is the contamination of our bays and estuaries by city sewage."¹⁰⁹ The division therefore built its laboratory stations

outside the Bay Area, primarily at Tomales, Morro, and Humboldt bays and Elkhorn Slough. By the end of 1934, state authorities dismissed San Francisco Bay as a future provider of the new Pacific oyster,¹¹⁰ but studies on the other bays proved valuable. State researchers found that once the Japanese variety of oyster was placed in California estuaries, it thrived, growing faster than it did in native waters. In 1936, investigator Paul Bonnot suggested that this phenomenon might be due to the relatively warm water temperature off the California coast during the winter months, which kept the Pacific oyster from hibernating in the cold season. By continuing to feed through its normally dormant period, the Pacific grew to a marketable size in only eighteen months off Morro Bay and Elkhorn Slough, compared to three years in Japan.¹¹¹ But summer water temperatures off California were too low for reproduction, so Japanese seed had to be imported every year. The outbreak

of war with Japan in 1941 brought the industry close to ruin.¹¹²

Although San Francisco Bay was labeled a lost cause by state experts, the Consolidated Oyster company continued to work the old Morgan beds off Millbrae and installed new ones off Oyster Point. Two large San Francisco fish dealers, A. Paladini Inc. and F.E. Booth Company, Inc., were primary stockholders in Consolidated. Their firm made every effort to keep pace with the experimentation going on in the industry. Between 1932 and 1933, it planted a substantial quantity of the Japanese oyster, but they did not grow as quickly in the bay as off other California estuaries.¹¹³

Consolidated's problems in the 1930s went much deeper than a slow growth rate for exotic oysters. In July of 1932, J. C. Geiger, M.D., and J. P. Gray, M.D., published an article in *California and Western Medicine* on their studies of the relationship between contaminated shellfish and

* Figures derived from Elinore M. Barrett, *The California Oyster Industry*, The Resource Agency of California, Dept. of Fish and Game, Bureau of Marine Fisheries. Bulletin 123, 1963, pp. 29, 58-59.

** Taken from Elinore M. Barrett, *The California Oyster Industry*, The Resource Agency of California, Dept. of Fish and Game, Bureau of Marine Fisheries. Bulletin 123, 1963, p. 28.

Table 3
Declining Years San Mateo County Oyster Production
1899-1940*

	(pounds of meat) San Mateo County Catch	percentage of California total	(dollars) California total value
1899	2,730,000	100.0	867,000
1904	1,320,291	100.0	628,023
1908	720,000	100.0	337,000
1912	476,259	100.0	280,344
1915	360,892	93.9	172,086
1916	199,049	98.3	
1918	116,298	81.9	
1919	125,994	75.9	not known
1921	17,394	22.3	
1923	23,736	34.4	
1925	51,859	91.1	24,394
1927	48,888	88.1	23,782
1929	28,762	54.2	26,509
1931	39,733	30.7	75,507
1933	40,553	46.9	29,171
1935	76,672	71.8	40,024
1937	73,593	45.1	38,417
1939	1,450	0.6	51,345
1940	0	0	27,088
1948	0	0	63,362
1958	0	0	286,564**

typhoid in San Francisco. By process of elimination and through careful research on the oyster and clam industries, they determined that the mollusks represented the "... most frequent source of infection..." Traditionally the disease originated from the water supply or the milk industry, but in 1931 the doctors found that chlorination had safeguarded drinking water against *Bacillus coli*. Although milk had been responsible for a major epidemic in 1928, thereafter 97.9 percent of it in the Bay Area was grade "A" pasteurized, with the remaining 2.1 percent at least certified and guaranteed. Shellfish obtained in the open market were, however, contaminated "to an extent considerably higher than regulations permit."¹¹⁴

The San Francisco Department of Public Health placed quarantines on certain shellfish beds immediately after these findings became known. A few months later, the California State Board of Public Health placed a permanent restriction on commercial clam fishing.¹¹⁵ The clam fishery, which never achieved the great profits of the oyster industry or the great productivity of the shrimp business, was an outgrowth of the two larger concerns. The soft shell clam (*Mya*

arenaria) was the animal most valued by the clam diggers. Like the eastern drill, it hitched a ride from the East Coast with the oysters from the New York and New Jersey shorelines, and it could reproduce in the mud flats of San Francisco Bay. In the nineteenth century, Chinese shrimpers in the off-season retrieved these mollusks, which thrived close to their camps. San Mateo County's catch represented a majority of the total California yield in many years. After the turn of the century, as restriction after restriction was inflicted on the shrimpers, the Chinese fishermen turned to the clam business with more intensity. In 1904, one of the best years for the commercial diggers of San Mateo County, around 216,000 pounds of soft shelled clams were gathered, valued at more than \$6,000. Polluted conditions became a detrimental factor for the clam population in the early years of the new century, however, and before 1920 the Chinese had largely abandoned the venture.

By 1930, San Mateo County's output came mostly from beds owned by a John Connell near South San Francisco. In 1932 state health regulations forced his facilities to shut down.¹¹⁶

No official ban was placed on the sale of oysters. Nevertheless, after information on contaminated shellfish reached the public, demand for all bay food products diminished. Moreover, shellfish were available from competitive California sources at Humboldt, Morro and Tomales bays and Elkhorn Slough. In 1939, the Consolidated Oyster Company finally ceased operations, and a once great industry disappeared from San Francisco Bay.

The collapse of the oyster industry was a loss not only for the local area but for the entire state. Despite the installation of new beds in various places on the California coast, the volume of oysters once harvested from the environmentally near-perfect conditions of the South Bay was not matched for decades. CHS

See notes beginning on page 70.

* Compiled from Elinore M. Barrett, *The California Oyster Industry*, The Resource Agency of California, Dept. of Fish and Game, Bureau of Marine Fisheries. Bulletin 123, 1963, pp. 29, 58-59.

** Today, although the volume of oysters grown in California finally equals that of catches from the nineteenth century, because of increasing demand, some 80 percent of the oysters consumed in this state come from beds off Washington or the East Coast (based on information from the California Department of Fish and Game).



A KOREAN/ CALIFORNIAN GIRLHOOD

Mary Paik Lee

Edited by Sucheng Chan

Asian immigrants who entered the United States before World War II came mainly from China, Japan, Korea, India, and the Philippines. The vast majority were men here to earn a living. Although writers have called them "sojourners," many in fact settled in the United States. Yet we know relatively little about how these settlers perceived the social and physical environment in which they found themselves and how they felt about the extraordinary hardships they encountered. We are also ignorant about why some returned to their homelands while others decided to stay. One thing is certain, however: far more of those with American-born children remained, and such children as they grew up inexorably pulled their parents closer to mainstream American society.

*In spite of the fact that Asian American children have been so important historically and sociologically, the only studies we have on the topic focus on young adults, not on children. Subjective accounts are also rare because very few autobiographies of Asian Americans have been published. The best known of these few are Pardee Lowe, *Father and Glorious Descendant* (1943), Jade Snow Wong, *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (1945), and Monica Sone, *Nisei**

The Paik family just before the author, her parents, and her brother left Korea in 1905. Front, left to right: Paik Meung Sun (author's brother) and Paik Kuang Sun. Middle, left to right: Paik Goon Un (author's grandfather), and Sin Bok Duk (grandmother). Back, left to right: Paik Sin Chil (author's uncle), Paik Sin Koo (father), and Song Kuang Do (mother).

Daughter (1953), but these early writers, particularly Lowe and Wong, had to cater to the prevailing taste of their readers: they made their life stories quaint and exotic, using a stilted language to create the desired "Oriental" touch. These accounts are valuable, nonetheless, because they give us the only glimpses we have of Asian American childhood in the 1920s and 1930s. All three autobiographies end as the narrators reach adulthood.

The autobiography of Mary Paik Lee, born Paik Kuang Sun in Korea in 1900, is a unique addition to the existing literature because it begins several decades before the tales told by Lowe and Wong. More importantly, Lee's natal family—which migrated to Hawaii in 1905 and to California in 1906 and whose adult members earned a living by cooking for fellow farm laborers, harvesting fruit, cleaning house, and washing other people's clothes—is far more representative of the several hundred thousand Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans who lived and worked in California in the early decades of this century than the families of Pardee Lowe and Jade Snow Wong. Their fathers were merchants. Though merchants were the elite members of Asian immigrant communities, they constituted no more than five percent of the population. Mrs. Lee and her husband also followed the archetypal Japanese and Korean immigrant occupations: tenant farming and selling

produce from the early 1920s through the late 1940s.

Written in the 1980s in a more natural style, Mary Paik Lee's story reveals more clearly than did the earlier works the discrimination that Asians faced daily as they struggled for survival in a white America that did not welcome them. Hers is the first full statement we have of the experiences of an Asian American woman from childhood through old age, with equal emphasis given to each phase of her life. Although Akemi Kikumura's *Through Harsh Winters: The Life of a Japanese Immigrant Woman* (1981) also follows its protagonist (the author's mother, given the pseudonym, Michiko Tanaka) from childhood to widowhood, relatively little is said in that book about the first nineteen years of Michiko's life in Japan. The lives of Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Tanaka resemble those of thousands of other Asian immigrant women who lived in circumstances very similar to theirs, whose stories, because they were unrecorded, have been virtually lost to history.

Of the five groups of Asian immigrants who came in the early years, Koreans were the fewest because they entered freely over only a two-and-a-half-year period. Between late 1902 and mid-1905, over 7,000 who had been recruited to work in Hawaii's sugar plantations journeyed to the islands. Fewer than a hundred—mostly students and ginseng merchants—went directly to the continental United States. The Hawaiian sugar planters desired Korean workers because at the turn of the century, Japanese laborers, who comprised two-thirds of the plantation labor force, had become militant and frequently went on strike. To break the Japanese labor "monopoly," the planters imported workers from other nations and used some of them as

scabs. Less than two years after Korean emigration began, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) was fought for control of the Korean peninsula. When victory was imminent, the Japanese, partly out of concern for the welfare of their compatriots half an ocean away, pressured the Korean government to terminate Korean emigration, in order to cut off an important source of strike breakers then being used by the Hawaiian sugar plantation owners. Of the 7,000 Koreans already in the islands, about 1,000 eventually returned home while another 1,000 remigrated to the Pacific Coast after their contracts were fulfilled. The Reverend Paik Sin Koo, Mary's father, an educated man who had left Korea to escape political persecution, was one of the secondary migrants to California. Between 1905 and 1910, only 222 additional Koreans arrived in Hawaii and California combined.

Fewer than 700 women accompanied the men who came before 1910, but after that date, women comprised the majority of the immigrants because the sugar plantation owners thought their presence would keep the male workers happy and docile. The Japanese government, which had declared Korea its protectorate at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, thought there was no harm in allowing women to leave. Thus, between 1910 and 1924, more than 1,000 "picture brides"—women who went through marriage ceremonies in Korea (with the grooms absent) before sailing to join their husbands in Hawaii and the continental United States—arrived. Ninety percent of them settled in the islands; the rest went to the Pacific Coast. Neither men nor women could immigrate to the United States after 1924, because a law passed that year sharply reduced the number of immigrants from eastern

Mary Paik Lee immigrated to California in 1905 when she was five years old. She is the only one of her generation of Asian immigrants to California who has written an autobiography. Sucheng Chan is Provost of Oakes College, University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of *This Bittersweet Soil: the Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*.

and southern Europe and barred Asian immigration altogether.

Some 600 of the pre-1910 arrivals were children, two-thirds of them boys. Virtually all of them remained in Hawaii. Only two dozen or so re-migrated with their parents to California. There were also a few children, such as Phillip Ahn, Mrs. Lee's playmate in Riverside and the son of the famous expatriate leader, Ahn Chang-ho, who came directly to the mainland with their parents. Altogether, no more than three dozen Korean immigrant children resided along the Pacific Coast during the first decade of this century. Mrs. Lee was one of the girls, and she is the only one who has written down her life story.

Only six years old when she set foot in California, Paik Kuang Sun apparently had no trouble picking up English. She and her older brother, Meung Sun, also quickly concluded that having foreign names was a liability. So they persuaded their parents to allow them to give their younger siblings American names, although Mrs. Lee does not recall how they chose such adult-sounding names as Ernest, Stanford, Ralph, Lawrence, and Charlotte. But the fact they did so shows that they must have mastered a rather formal English within a year or two of their arrival. They could easily have called their siblings Jimmy, Bobby, Tommy, Johnny, and Susie. (Kuang Sun herself adopted the name Mary when she received American citizenship at age 60. Although she had grown up in the United States, she could not become an American citizen until then because her birth in Asia made her "ineligible to citizenship" under the law until after World War II.)

Mrs. Lee's full story will appear in 1989 as *Quiet Odyssey: A Pioneer*

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Mary Paik Lee, 1987.

Korean Woman in America, edited by Sucheng Chan, who has written introductory and bibliographic essays to place the autobiography in its global context. Excerpted here is the segment covering the years 1906 through 1913.

—Sucheng Chan

We landed in San Francisco on December 3, 1906. As we walked down the gangplank, a group of young white men was standing around, waiting to see what kind of creatures were disembarking. We must have been a very queer-looking group. They laughed at us and spit in our faces; one man kicked up Mother's skirt and called us names we couldn't understand. Of course, their actions and attitudes left no doubt about their feelings

toward us. I was so upset, I asked Father why we came to a place where we were not wanted. He replied that we deserved what we got because that was the same kind of treatment that Koreans had given to the first American missionaries in Korea: the children had thrown rocks at them, calling them "white devils" because of their blue eyes and yellow or red hair. He explained that anything new and strange causes some fear at first, so ridicule and violence often result. He said the missionaries just lowered their heads and paid no attention to their tormenters. They showed by their action and good works that they were just as good or even better than those who laughed at them. He said that is exactly what we must try to do here in America—study hard and learn to show Ameri-

cans that we are just as good as they are. That was my first lesson in living and I have never forgotten it.

Many old friends came with us from Hawaii; some stayed in San Francisco, others went to Dinuba, Fresno County, but most headed for Los Angeles. We ourselves went straight to the railroad depot nearby and boarded a train for Riverside, where friends would be waiting for us. It was our first experience on a train. We were excited but felt lost in such a huge country. When we reached Riverside, we found friends from our village in Korea waiting to greet us.

In those days, Orientals and others were not allowed to live in town with the white people. The Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos each had their own little settlement outside of town. My first glimpse of what was to be our camp was rows of one-room shacks with a few water pumps here and there and little sheds for outhouses. We learned later that the shacks had been constructed for the Chinese men who built the Southern Pacific railroads in the 1880s.

We had reached Riverside without any plans, with very little money, and not knowing what we could do for a living. After much discussion with friends, it was decided that Mother should cook for about thirty single men who worked in the citrus groves. Father did not like her to work, but it seemed to be the only way we could make a living for ourselves. She would make their breakfast at 5 a.m., pack their lunches, and cook them supper at 7 p.m. But my parents did not have the cooking utensils we needed, so Father went to the Chinese settlement and told them of our situation. He could not speak Chinese but he wrote *hammun*,

the character-writing which is the same in Korean and Chinese. He asked for credit, promising to make regular payments from time to time. They trusted him and agreed to give us everything we needed to get started: big iron pots and pans, dishes, tin lunch pails, chopsticks, and so forth. They also gave us rice and groceries.

The Korean men went to the dumpyard nearby and found the materials to build a shack large enough for our dining area. They made one long table and two long benches to seat thirty men. Father made a large stove and oven with mud and straw and found several large wine barrels to hold the water for drinking and cooking. That was the start of our business. Mother had long thick black hair that touched the ground, which became a nuisance in her work, so Father cut it short, leaving just enough to coil in a bun on the back of her head. It must have caused her much grief to lose her beautiful hair, but she never complained. We had already lost everything else that meant anything to us.

We lived in a small one-room shack built in the 1800s. The passing of time had made the lumber shrink, so the wind blew through the cracks in the walls. There was no pretense of making it livable—just four walls, one window and one door, nothing else. We put mud in the cracks to keep the wind out. The water pump served several shacks. We had to heat our bath water in a bucket over an open fire outside, then pour it into a tin tub inside. There was no gas or electricity. We used kerosene lamps and one of my chores was to trim the wicks, clean the glass tops, and keep the bowls filled with kerosene.

The Chinese men who had lived

there in the 1800s must have slept on the floor. Father solved the problem of where we were going to sleep by building shelves along the four walls of our shack. Then he found some hay to put on each shelf, put a blanket over the hay, rolled up some old clothes for a pillow, and that was the bed for the children. I used a block of wood for my pillow. It became such a habit with me that even to this day I do not like a soft pillow. My parents themselves slept on the floor.

After our shelter was taken care of, I looked around and found that all our immediate neighbors were old friends from Korea. Phillip Ahn, who became a movie actor many years later, lived across from us. His father was Mr. Ahn Chang Ho. He and my father, who were boyhood friends in Korea, felt like brothers to each other and kept in touch throughout the years. It was good to see so many familiar faces again, and we felt happy to be there together.

Every day after school and on weekends, my older brother and I had to pile enough firewood up against the kitchen shack to last until the next day. Father found some wheels and boards at the dumpyard to make a long flat bed for carrying the wood, but we had to make several trips each day. An acre of trees grew some distance from us, and there we found plenty of broken branches to gather up.

Meung's job was to keep the wine barrels filled with water so Mother could do her work. I cleaned the oil lamps, kept our shack in order, looked after my baby brother, and heated the bath water for the men at 6 p.m. so they could bathe before supper. The workers' bathhouse had just one large tub inside; I heated the water by building a fire under

the floor. The men washed themselves with a hose before entering the tub.

Every Saturday Meung and I went to a slaughterhouse some distance away to get the animal organs that the butchers threw out: pork and beef livers, hearts, kidneys, entrails and tripe—all things they considered unfit for human consumption. We were not alone—Filipino and Mexican children came there also. They needed those things to survive just as we did. The butchers stood around laughing at us as we scrambled for the choice pieces. When I told Father I didn't want to go there anymore because they were making fun of us, he said that we should thank God that they didn't know the value of what they threw out; otherwise we would go hungry.

Meung started school at the Washington Irving School, not far from our settlement. When I was ready to go, Father asked a friend who spoke a little English, Mr. Song, to take me. It was a very frightening experience. As we entered the schoolyard, several girls formed a ring around us, singing a song and dancing in a circle. When they stopped, each one came to me and hit me in the neck, hurting and frightening me. They ran away when a tall woman came towards us. Her bright yellow hair and big blue eyes looking down at me were a fearful sight; it was my first close look at such a person. She was welcoming me to her school but I was frightened. When she addressed me, I answered in Korean, "I don't understand you," turned around, ran all the way home, and hid in our shack. Father laughed when he heard about my behavior. He told me there was nothing to be afraid of, and now that we were living here in America where every-

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Korean Christians at their church in Oahu, Hawaii, 1905. Paik Sin Koo, the author's father, is fourth from the right, wearing a hat and watch chain.

thing is different from Korea, we would have to learn to get along with everyone.

The next day when I went to school with my brother the girls did not dance around us; I guess the teacher must have told them not to do it. I learned later that the song they sang was:

*Ching Chong, Chinaman,
Sitting on a wall,
Along came a white man,
Who chopped his head off.*

The last line was the signal for each girl to chop my head off by giving me a blow on the neck. That must have been the greeting they gave to all the Oriental kids the first day they came to school.

Because our Korean names were

too difficult for them to remember, the children at school always said "hey you" when they wanted our attention. I told Meung that it was too late to change our names but we should give American names to our siblings. So we started with Paik Daw Sun, who had been born in Hawaii, by calling him Ernest. When another brother was born in Riverside on August 8, 1908, we named him Stanford.

Meung was only three years older than I, but he was extremely observant and considerate for his age. He told me to stop playing around and to notice how much work our mother had to do. He said that to help her, every day before school he would wash the baby's diapers and I was to hang them on the line. After

school, before going for firewood, I was to take them in, fold them, and put them away. Meanwhile he would fill the wine barrels with water from the pump. We followed this routine from then on. I was always taking care of the babies, bathing them every night, changing their diapers, and feeding them midnight bottles. He heated their bath water in a bucket outside so I could give them baths in the tin tub inside our shack.

There was one large building for community meetings in Riverside, where religious services were held on Sundays. We didn't have a minister, but several persons read the Bible and discussed it, and Father preached there whenever he had time. An American lady named Mrs. Stewart, who lived in Upland, used to come to our church on Sundays. She was interested in the Korean people and brought presents for everyone at Christmas time. She gave me the first and only doll I ever had.

Meung and I had a special "gang" consisting of six members about the same age. We ran to school together, ran home for lunch, back to school, and home again. On the way to school there was a large mulberry tree growing in the front lawn of one house. Whenever we passed, we noticed the big black berries that had fallen on the lawn. They looked so tempting, we just had to stop and see what they tasted like. They were so delicious we couldn't stop eating them. After that, every time we passed that house we helped ourselves, but we were worried about whether it was right or wrong to take the fruit. We childishly decided that it was all right because the berries were on the ground and weren't picked off the tree. We had a big

argument about it one day. When Meung said it was wrong to take something that belonged to someone else, my girlfriend got so angry she picked up a piece of firewood and hit him on the head. When we told Father about it, he said that the berries belonged to the owner of the tree whether they were on the tree or on the ground. That settled our arguments. From then on we looked the other way every time we passed that house.

An old Chinese peddler used to come to our place once a week with fruits and vegetables on his wagon. I told Phillip Ahn to climb up the front of his wagon and talk to him while I climbed up the back and filled my apron with small potatoes, lima beans, and corn, which we roasted in hot ashes. It was our first taste of such vegetables and they were so good. But the old man got wise to us after a while, so whenever we approached his wagon, he used the horsewhip on us.

One evening, as I was helping Mother wash the lunch pails the men brought back, I asked her what kind of work the men were doing. She told me they were picking oranges, which gave me an idea, but I didn't dare to tell her about it. After breakfast the next day, as I passed out the lunch pails I asked some of the men why they never brought me an orange. I said I had never seen or tasted one. That evening as I took in the lunch pails, they felt a bit heavy; when I opened one I saw a beautiful orange for the first time. I was so excited, I told Father about it. He must have talked to the men because there were only a few oranges after that. It helped make the work of washing the lunch pails seem less tiring to find a few. One

night some time later, when I took in the lunch pails every single one felt heavy and I got really excited. But to my surprise, each pail had a rock in it. When I asked why, the men said they were afraid I would scold them if they didn't bring something, and there were no more oranges to be picked. Everybody had a good laugh about it.

After the orange season was over, the men picked lemons and grapefruit. In the fall there was work in the walnut groves. The men would shake the walnuts from the trees with long poles, then the women and children would gather them up in sacks, take them to a clearing, and peel off the outer shells. They got paid by the sack for their labor. Between the walnut harvest and the time to prune the orange trees, the men got a short rest. When there was no work in the fruit groves, Father worked at the Riverside Cement Company at the edge of town.

Two incidents happened in Riverside that will always remain in my memory. The first was when I told Father I needed a coat to wear to school, and he said that he would see what he could do about it. He rode to town on his bicycle to buy some material and made a coat for me. Since we did not have a sewing machine, he had to sew it by hand one evening. It was a beautiful red coat; I was so happy to wear it. All the girls at school wanted to know where I had purchased it. They couldn't believe my father had made it himself. When I asked Mother how Father could do such a wonderful thing, she smiled and said that, among other things, Father had been an expert tailor in Korea. He had been a minister and had taught the Korean language to missionaries,

but tailoring was how he made a living.

One evening Father woke us up in the middle of the night and said a wonderful thing was happening in the sky. Looking out the window, we saw a big star with a very long sparkling tail that seemed to stretch across the whole sky. The tail was full of small sparkling stars. It was a wonderful, awesome sight, a bit frightening to us children. We didn't understand what was going on and couldn't sleep the rest of the night, wondering what it meant and if everything would be all right the next day.

We lived in Riverside for four or five years, but Father became concerned about Mother's health; the work of cooking for thirty men was too much for her. She was a small woman, only four feet eleven inches tall, and she was expecting another baby. So we paid off the Chinese merchants who had got us started, paid all our debts to friends, and moved to Claremont, not too far away. It was a quiet college town with many school buildings. We moved into a duplex building where an old friend, Martha Kim, was living with her parents. It was across the street from the railroad station and a huge citrus packing house. Those were the days before frozen fruit juices, so after packing the choice fruit, the culls were piled up in boxes back of the buildings to be taken to the dump once a week. So we were fortunate that we could enjoy all the fruit we wanted.

Our move to Claremont was to be our first experience with the American way of living. The new house seemed huge after our little shack. It had several rooms with beds,

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Paik Sin Koo in Hawaii, 1905.

chairs, and other furniture. The kitchen had a gas stove, electric lights, and a sink with faucets for cold and hot water. But all that was nothing compared to what we found in the bathroom. There was a big white tub with faucets at one end—I couldn't believe it was the place for taking our baths. And the biggest surprise of all was the toilet. Father flushed it to show us how it operated. He must have seen these wonders before somewhere because he wasn't surprised at anything. For the first time, I felt glad that we had come to America.

Father found a job as a janitor in the nearby apartment buildings. He told Meung and me to ask the tenants if we could do their laundry and also to ask our schoolteachers the same thing. Meung had to pick up

the dirty laundry in a big basket and return it later on foot. I helped with the laundry before and after school and with the ironing at night. In Claremont we had our first experience with an electric iron. Before this we had heated the old "sad irons," as they were called in those days, on the wood stove. It was such a relief to use the electric iron, no more going back and forth to the wood stove for a hot iron. Life was getting better. No more kerosene lamps, hunting for firewood, and outhouses. Every Saturday, Father bought a beef roast, and every Sunday we had pot roast with mashed potatoes and bread. This was our introduction to American food, and it tasted wonderful. A small group of Koreans lived in Claremont. They came together to worship on Sun-

days in an old building. There was no minister, so Father preached there several times. Arthur was born in Claremont on December 2, 1910. The memory of our short stay there is a pleasant one.

Unfortunately Father's wages were so low in Claremont it was difficult to make a living. So, a year later, we moved to Colusa in the northern part of California, hoping to find work there. It turned out we made a disastrous move. Father couldn't find any kind of work. There was a depression in 1911, and the situation was so bad the Salvation Army offered a bowl of soup and piece of bread to each hungry person in town. But when I asked if we could go and get some, Father said no. He didn't want us to be humiliated by asking for help.

The feeling towards Orientals in Southern California had not been friendly, but we were tolerated. In the northern part of the state, we found the situation to be much worse. Although we found a house on the outskirts of town, the townspeople's attitude towards us was chilling. Father told Meung and me to ask our schoolteachers for their laundry, which Meung had to bring and deliver in a basket on foot. Since we lived on the outskirts of town, it was a hard job for him, but he never complained. But because of the negative feeling towards Orientals in Colusa, we never got enough clothes to launder and we couldn't earn enough money to meet our needs.

After paying the rent, light, water, and other bills, we had very little left over for food. Mother would tell me to buy a five-pound sack of flour, a small can of baking powder, salt and two cans of Carnation milk for the baby. The two cans of milk had to last for one week: it was diluted

with so much water it didn't look like anything nourishing. Mother made tiny biscuits each morning and served one biscuit and a tin cup of water to each of us three times a day. During the time we lived in Colusa, we had no rice, meat, or anything else to eat. When we sat down to eat, Father would pray, thanking God for all our blessings. This used to irritate me. At the age of eleven years, I couldn't think of anything to be thankful for. Once he was sitting out on the porch smoking after dinner and I asked what we had to be so thankful for. He said, "Don't you remember why we came here?" I had forgotten that the fate of our family in Korea was much worse than ours. Nevertheless, my stomach ached for lack of food, and I had severe cramps. One evening the pain was so bad I got up to fill myself with water, which helped somewhat. As I neared the kitchen, I saw Father and Mother sitting across from each other at the table holding hands, with tears flowing down their faces. I realized then how much agony they were suffering and that my own feelings were nothing compared to theirs. I had been so absorbed in myself that the thought of my parents suffering had never entered my mind. Seeing them that way made me realize how ignorant I was and awakened me to the realities of life.

I thought maybe I could get work cleaning someone's home to help out. Since my schoolteacher was the only one I could talk to, I asked her if she knew where I could get housework. She said that the principal lived in a big house and that his wife might need someone to help her. So I went to the principal and asked if his wife needed someone to do the cleaning in his home. He said that

he would find out and let me know.

The next day I went to his office and found out that his wife was willing to try me. She said I should work before and after school and all day Saturdays and Sundays. The wages were to be one dollar a week. In my ignorance, it sounded good to me. I asked where he lived and walked past it on my way home. It was a big beautiful house quite far from ours, with a large lawn in front and colorful flowers all around. When I told Father about it, he shook his head and didn't say a word. As if he didn't know it, I said that one dollar would buy twenty loaves of bread and that it would help feed the younger children who were hungry. Bread cost five cents a loaf then. He said it was too much work for me but I could try it. Father left the room and went outside to smoke his pipe. Many years later, he told me he had felt humiliated to hear an eleven-year-old daughter tell him that her one-dollar-a-week wages were needed to feed the family. I was too young and ignorant to know how my words had hurt him.

I was totally ignorant of what my employers expected of me but was stubborn enough to make the attempt. My secret reason for wanting this job was that I was hoping to get something more than a tiny biscuit and water to eat, but my punishment came in an unexpected way. Before I left home in the morning, Father gave me advice about how I was to behave in my first American home. He showed me how to set a table with napkins, etc. He said I should eat in the kitchen, never with the family. I left home at 6 a.m., reached the principal's house before 7 a.m. and was surprised to see his wife. She looked like the pictures of the fat lady in the circus, a huge

woman; I also met her son who was about twenty years old. I helped the woman prepare breakfast and set the table. Before they sat down to eat, she gave me a cup of black coffee, no sugar, milk, or cream, and she took the time and patience to slice a piece of bread so thin that when I held it up to the light of the window, I could see the outline of the tree outside. That was about the same amount of food I would have had at home. I had to laugh at myself.

After the family finished eating, I cleared the table, washed the dishes, and cleaned up in the kitchen. Then I had to walk to school while the principal drove in his car. His son had a car also. Very few people in town owned cars, and two cars in one home was certainly unusual. When I told Father about it, he said that it was surprising, considering the low salaries of teachers. About fifteen years later as I was passing a newsstand I saw the principal's name in the headline of a paper and stopped to read it. The article stated that Mr. So-and-so was arrested for embezzling school funds. This had apparently been going on for years. No wonder he had a big beautiful home and two cars in the family.

After school I went back to the principal's house, helped his wife prepare dinner, and set the table. Then I cleaned the other rooms while dinner was being prepared. She gave me a piece of bread and a few spoons of this and that for my meal. When I cleared the table, she put all the leftovers in dishes, covered them tightly and put them in the ice box. I guess she was afraid I would eat their food. After washing the dishes and cleaning up the kitchen, I was told I could leave.

On Saturdays, I had to wash all

the sheets, pillow cases, towels, and clothes in a big washtub, rubbing them on a washboard in the back yard, rinsing them, hanging them on a line to dry, and taking them into the house after they were dry. There were no washing machines in those days. Everything had to be done by hand. On Sunday mornings, I sprinkled all the clothes that needed ironing and ironed all day. By nightfall, I was so tired I could hardly walk home. I had to admit to myself that the work was too much for me. Finally, summer vacation came, and Father said that he was going to Dinuba in Fresno County to work in the fruit orchards to try and make some money there. He said I should stay home and help Mother while he was away. I was really glad to have an excuse to quit my job; I learned to listen to my elders and not be such a stubborn fool over things I knew nothing about.

One day we heard music outside the house. Looking out the window, we saw a small truck painted in bright colors with a big picture of an ice cream cone filled with white ice cream. All the children had their faces pressed against the window, wondering what the truck was. We had never tasted ice cream before. Seeing so many children, the man thought that surely someone would come out to buy from him. After waiting several minutes, he gave up and left. The children looked around at Father with questions in their eyes, not daring to say a word. That must have been an agonizing moment for my parents. I looked at their sad, desperate faces and felt sorry for them. Father asked all of us to come into the kitchen and sit down at the table. He took out all the money he had, said that we were

not earning enough money to buy everything we wanted, and that we had to pay for several things before we could even buy food to eat. Picking up a few coins, he said, "We have to save this much every week in order to pay the rent for this house, otherwise the owner won't let us live here. Then we have to pay so much for the electric lights, gas for the stove, water and laundering supplies. That's why we can't buy enough food to eat three times a day. There is nothing left for such things as ice cream cones." It was a lesson in economics that even a five-year-old could understand. There were five children in the family then and ice cream cones were five cents apiece, but twenty-five cents was a lot of money when one didn't have it. From then on, the children never looked out the window when the music sounded and the ice cream man never stopped at our house. The children never asked for anything after that.

When Father left for Fresno County, Mother, Meung, and I tried to keep going as usual but couldn't do any better. We still had just one biscuit and a cup of water three times a day. Father came back from Dinuba in September, looking so sick and tired it was pitiful. We were shocked at his appearance and wished he hadn't left home. After paying for his room, board, and the train fare home, there was little left over, but he said he had just enough for us to move out of Colusa.

While Father was working in Dinuba, he met a friend, Mr. Kim, who was looking for someone to help him on a farm that raised potatoes. They made plans to raise Burbank potatoes on Roberts Island,

a big island in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. So in 1912 we took the train to Stockton, where we boarded a small motor boat and traveled for several hours to Roberts Island. We didn't have much to take with us, only our bedding and a few kitchen utensils and clothes. It was a relief to leave Colusa, even though we didn't know where we were going. But, as Mother always said, God was surely leading us to the right place. Moving to Roberts Island saved our lives and prevented us from starving to death.

The motor boat ride was exciting. We saw many trees but very few houses along the banks of the river. After several hours, the boat stopped and the crew put up a plank of wood so we could land. As I walked up the plank, I looked at a branch on a nearby tree and saw a green snake staring at me. That was our welcome to the farm, an indication of things to come.

We had never seen a vegetable farm before. It looked like a heavenly paradise to us. Fish jumped up and down in the river and the banks were full of various vegetables growing wild from seeds scattered by former farmers. We had plenty to eat and to be really thankful for. The farmhouse was an ancient wooden two-storey building, barely standing. There was also a big old barn with some hay in it, a few chickens, rats, and numerous snakes. All of a sudden we were in a new world. We felt alive and anxious to see everything. The younger children ran towards the barn, but they stopped suddenly and just stood there looking in. I wondered why and went to see for myself. Their noisy approach had startled the creatures living there: rats and snakes of all sizes and kinds were running around try-

ing to avoid each other in their haste to leave the barn. It was our first look at such wildlife. The sight fascinated as well as frightened us. We backed off to join our parents, who were more interested in the old house. They were trying to figure out how to arrange things to make it comfortable for everyone. Father told us children that Mr. Kim would arrive in a day or two with twenty single men to work on the farm and all the groceries we needed for cooking. The kitchen and dining area took about two-thirds of the ground area of the house; the rest of the space became our bedroom. We were back to using kerosene lamps, a water pump outside, and outhouses, but the house was about twice the size of our old shack in Riverside.

We were so hungry we pulled up the vegetables growing on the banks, washed them at the pump, then cooked and ate everything. It felt good to have something solid to chew on. Father found some white butcher string and old fish hooks and said he would show us how to catch fish. He cut a couple of long slim branches from the willow tree and tied the string to the tip and the hook to the other end of the string. Then he dug up enough worms to fill a coffee can and put one on the hook. There was an old rowboat belonging to the farm tied to a tree with a long rope. He told us to sit in the boat and let the worm fall into the river. In a few seconds there was a pull on the line and we saw a big grey-black catfish coming up at the end of the string. It was our first sight of a live fish—a very exciting moment. Father told Meung to take it off the hook and put another worm on it. A large grey cat living on the farm jumped into the rowboat and sat on the back seat as we were fish-

ing. When Meung pulled up his fish, the cat stood up, trying to grab it. Meung took the fish off the hook and put it in an old bucket that was in the boat. The cat tried to eat it. It must have been very hungry, because although there were plenty of rats around, they were so big and strong the cat was afraid of them and never went near the barn. When Meung took the fish out of the bucket and gave it to the cat, she ate it right away.

The river seemed to be crowded with fish that kept jumping up as though looking for something to eat. I didn't want to put my hand in a can full of worms, so Father made some dough with flour and water and told me to make a small ball like a marble with it and press it over the hook. The fish didn't seem to care what they ate: they liked my bait just as well as the worms. It didn't take long to catch enough for our supper. Father made an open fire, put a piece of chicken wire over it, and cooked the fish for dinner. We had lettuce, celery, and carrots that grew along the river banks. What a wonderful experience after our ordeal in Colusa! We all felt happy again.

Though vegetables grew wild on the property, the only trees in the area were the willow trees growing along the river banks, which were too green to use for firewood. Father said he would have to buy wood by the cord. Whenever we ordered wood, a loaded barge came by and threw it on the river bank. Then we had to pile it up outside the kitchen door.

Father solved the problems of our beds in the same manner as he had done in Riverside. He built shelves along the walls, gathered hay from the barn, put a blanket over the hay,



First grade class at Washington Irving School, Riverside, California, 1907. Paik Kuang Sun third from the left in the front row.

rolled up some old clothes for pillows, and those were the children's beds. Our parents slept on the floor. We used a big old tin tub on the property for our bathtub. We had to heat the water in a bucket on a fire outside the house. We never had toothbrushes or toothpaste, just a spoonful of salt and our forefinger for a brush. Perhaps because we didn't have sugar in the house, no one ever had tooth aches or any other dental problems.

There was no furniture in the house, and upstairs where the men were going to sleep, there were no beds. Father said twenty men would have just enough room to sleep on the floor with their blankets. After all the excitement of the day, the little children were tired, so we heated

the water for their baths and prepared to sleep.

As I stretched my legs on my shelf bed, I felt a cold rough object against my toes. I threw back the blanket and saw a red snake coiled up. It was as surprised as I was and slithered off outside. After that we always pounded our beds with a long stick before jumping in. Then, I woke up one night feeling a sharp pain on my nose and found myself staring at two black beady eyes. I screamed. Father came running to see what was wrong. A big rat about the size of a baby kitten had tried to eat my nose. No wonder the cat was afraid of the rats.

The morning after we arrived, Meung and I got up early and caught enough catfish for our breakfast.

Then we looked into the problem of cooking for twenty men. The house had evidently been occupied by Chinese before we came. There were big cast iron pots, pans, woks—all the heavy equipment they didn't want to take with them. It was our good fortune to find almost everything we needed to get started. Mr. Kim and his friends arrived that afternoon with the supplies we needed to start cooking: rice, soy sauce, and so forth. Suddenly there was a crowd. We had so much to do! Everyone helped. We filled all the huge wine barrels with water from the pump so the red clay from the river could settle before we drank it or cooked with it. Some men went fishing so there would be enough to eat for several days; others helped clean

up everything around the house and barn and chased all the rats and snakes away; still others cleaned the outhouse. There were a few chickens so they made a place for them to lay their eggs, but we had to watch them and get the eggs before the snakes did. After a while, the big rats and snakes stayed away. Maybe they came back at night, but we seldom saw them during the day. Some men started a garden with corn, cucumbers, Chinese cabbage, and watermelons.

At harvest time, when more men were needed, the extra help stayed in tents. I remember one man had a guitar; it was the first time we ever saw such a thing. Father sometimes hired twenty or so Sikhs to help us with the harvest. They would sit around a large pot of melted butter and garlic, dipping tortillas made with flour and water into it. The children had the job of weeding and irrigating plants in the garden. Mother and I were relieved to find that she would not have to pack lunches for the men. The field was close by so they could come home for lunch. Plenty of good food helped all of us to recover our strength and there was much to be thankful for.

Father made a fish trap with a bushel basket. He put chicken wire around it, made an opening on top, then tied a rope around it and attached it to a tree. He put several fish heads and scraps in the basket, stood in the rowboat, and threw it into the river. I would always get up early to pull it out, curious to see what had been caught during the night. There were several other kinds of fish besides catfish, small crabs, and lobsters. On weekends, some of the men took the rowboat somewhere to catch clams. Once, Meung

caught a striped bass about a foot long. It tasted better than catfish but that species rarely came our way.

Meung and I went to school on the other side of Roberts Island. One teacher taught all eight grades and the whole school had only about thirty children. The teacher came to school on horseback. She looked very young, about eighteen or twenty years old. We noticed that the boys and some of the girls were barefoot, so we asked Father if we could go barefoot, too. We said our shoes were getting worn out. He told us it was all right if the others were also barefoot. The soft peat soil on the island didn't have rocks or anything in it to hurt our feet. It felt so good to walk without shoes.

One evening Father woke us up in the middle of the night and told us to hurry, put on our clothes, and come to the river bank. He wanted us to see something wonderful that happened only once a year, in June. We rushed up the bank and looked down at a mass of shining silver glittering in the moonlight. At first we were so startled we couldn't tell what we were looking at. A solid silvery mass completely covered the water. Our cat, who was with us, of course, seemed to know what it was. She went berserk at the sight. She ran down the bank, jumped on top of the silvery mass, ran back and forth, and over to the little island in the middle of the river. Then we could see that a mass of very large fish were so jammed together that the water was hidden from view. Father said they were shad fish coming from the ocean to spawn in the river. He had brought a long pole with a chicken wire basket tied to one end that looked like a huge soup ladle. The pressure of the fish

pushed our row boat halfway up the bank. Father stood at the end of the boat, forced the pole into the water and brought up several huge white fish and dropped them in the boat. He told us to go get some men to help us. He had evidently prepared everything for this occasion. The men laid the fish on a long board, rubbed off their scales, took out the roe, which was large and long, then filleted the fish and cut it in pieces about three inches wide. The roe and fish were carefully laid in wine barrels where Mother salted them. This went on all night until several barrels were filled. The salted roe is a favorite Korean delicacy, served with a special hot sauce. Before cooking, the fillets were soaked in water to reduce the salt content. Then they were drained dry and cooked over an open fire. It was very delicious and we enjoyed it all year.

One day, Ernest, who was six years old, became ill and refused to eat for several days. I knew he would not tell Mother what he wanted so I asked him when no one else was in the room. He said he would like some canned peaches, which surprised me because we had never eaten such a thing. Mother gave me some money when I told her his wish; she sent me with Meung to a small store on the other side of the island. It took us a long time to find the store, asking people along the way how to get there. We bought a can of peaches and started for home. On the way back, we came to an irrigation ditch with just a narrow board across it. As we crossed, Meung dropped the can of peaches. We were scared stiff. The water was about six feet deep and neither one of us could swim. We just stood there frozen with fear, staring at the can



Koreans and Chinese worked together in the citrus orchards and lived in adjacent camps despite mutually unintelligible languages. The educated could communicate by writing notes in the Han characters common to both languages.

of peaches on the bottom of the ditch. Meung was fifteen years old then but he acted like a man. He jumped into the water, grabbed the can of peaches and struggled to the side, where I helped pull him out. We both gave a big sigh of relief and rested for a while. We didn't dare say a word about what happened and were relieved when Mother did not ask why we were so late or why Meung was all wet. She just said she had been worried and left it at that. Ernest was surprised and happy and he ate the peaches. Maybe that was the medicine he needed. He felt better the next day and got out of bed.

Another member of our family arrived about then. Ralph was born on Roberts Island on February 16, 1913.

Our potato plants that year were big and healthy looking. Instead of men digging them up with a pitch fork as they used to, we now had a machine to make the work easier. As the horses pulled the machine, the plants were uprooted. All the potatoes were exposed so it was easy to pick them up and put them into sacks. Almost as many snakes as potatoes came out of the ground. They were nonpoisonous ones but we were afraid of them anyway. The men had to work longer hours at harvest time so they needed a "snack" between meals. Mother made yeast doughnuts which Meung and I took with wine out to them.

We had a big harvest and were expecting a good profit from it. But Mr. Kim took a bigload to Stock-

ton one morning and returned a week later with a sad story. He said the market price had dropped to ten cents for a hundred-pound sack of potatoes. He couldn't find even one buyer and had to dump the load in the river. The depression that had caused us to move from Colusa was still in full force. We were so isolated from the rest of the world we didn't know what was happening outside. No one came to Roberts Island and none of us went outside. Father had never farmed before, so he didn't know about watching the wholesale market prices. It was a heartbreaking situation. Everyone had worked so hard all year, only to find that no one wanted to buy our crop. We learned that just raising a good crop does not mean success. CHS

California History welcomes letters to the editor which amplify on, clarify, take issue with, or correct words or images published here. Personal associations with people, places, or events we describe often yield profound new insights, and we particularly hope that readers will share personal knowledge.

Letters of no more than 300 words should be typed, double spaced, and addressed to "Editor, California History. Please indicate that you intend for your letters to be published.

Dear Editor:

I have just recently become aware of your fine magazine and look forward to future issues. However, I feel compelled to point out what I suspect to be an error in your California Snapshots on the inside cover of the December '87 issue.

The caption identifies the photo as the 1907 Hollister/Pacific Grove rugby match. If so, is the posing team Hollister or Pacific Grove? I suspect neither, for the team is not a rugby team at all. The boys have taken a distinctly American football positioning. As a past player of both sports, I can assure you that this is scrimmage, not scrum.

Later in the description, a reference is made to another team "wearing rugby uniforms—shorts, jerseys displaying a large 'H', and cleated, high-top shoes." The photo shows pants, not shorts, and the pants are padded. No self-respecting rugger wears pads.

I think the wrong photo was run. Could it be that one of the editors' ancestors played for the ill-fated Pacific Grove side, making an action photo of the 61 to 0 thumping just a bit too much to take?

Regards,
Dana Driskel;
Goleta, California

The editor responds:

I have no personal stake in defending the honor of Pacific Grove. Unable to find a document describing the game in question, I attempted to deduce from

circumstantial evidence what had taken place. A newspaper account from Gilroy in the same month reported that the Gilroy team was practicing the new game of rugby for a match with Pacific Grove, and it seemed unlikely that Pacific Grove was switching games from contest to contest. But perhaps the lopsided score was due to a sporting effort to do precisely that while Hollister stuck to American football. The University of California, to which both schools aspired to send their best graduates, had adopted rugby, and a would-be varsity man had a better chance if he already knew the game. The pursuit of a definitive statement as to which game was played on Thanksgiving Day, 1907, yielded the information that it had rained the entire week before until Saturday, when the Hazel Hawkins Memorial Hospital was dedicated. If the field was muddy on Thanksgiving, might the athletes have been reluctant to compete in shorts? The final word is not yet in. Does some other reader have a scrapbook containing an account of this memorable game? The posing team is Hollister.

Edited by James J. Rawls

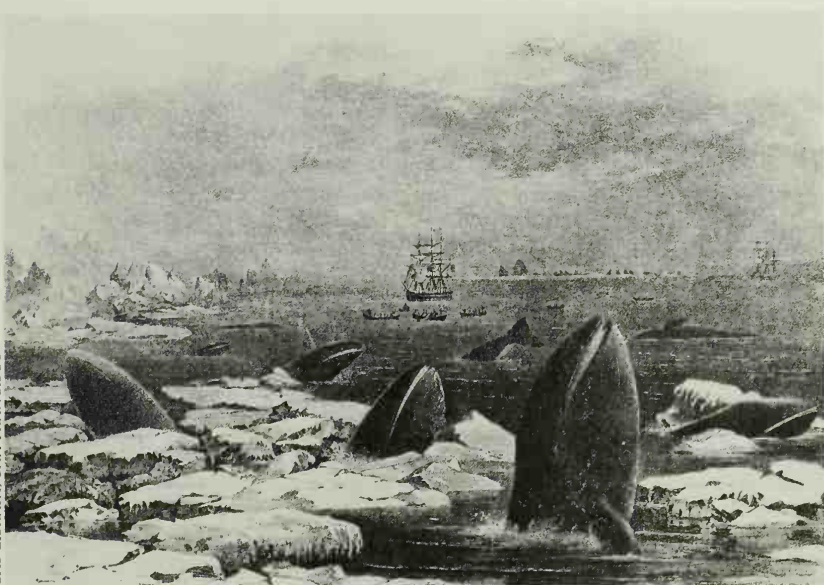
*Beyond the Lagoon:
A Biography of Charles
Melville Scammon.
Pacific Maritime
History Series, Vol. 1.*

By Lyndall Baker Landauer. (Pasadena, California: Flying Cloud Press and the Associates of the J. Porter Shaw Library, 1986, xiv, 180 pp., index, cloth, \$19.95)

Reviewed by James P. Delgado, *Maritime Historian, National Park Service*

There have been few major books written in recent years on the important contributions of the Pacific coast to the maritime heritage of the United States and the world. Most of the principal scholarly works date to thirty or more years ago. Hence the appearance of a new work on an important figure such as Charles Melville Scammon is seemingly a welcome contribution. Scammon, a merchant captain, whaler, and a United States Revenue Marine officer, opened the Baja California whaling grounds at appropriately-named Scammon Lagoon and is famed as the author of *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America*, a classic work well known to whaling historians and scholars of early scientific endeavors.

Dr. Landauer has done a creditable job in assessing the archival sources such as Scammon's papers in the Bancroft Library, the archives of the Smithsonian Institution, manuscript service records and logbooks of the United States Revenue Cutter Service at the National Archives, Scammon's numerous writings, newspaper accounts, and family reminiscences. Unfortunately, the work is marred by lapses such as attributing, without verification, the twentieth century attitude against whaling to the nineteenth century participant, Scammon. Objectivity is lacking when the book has Scammon "thanking providence" that he was no longer engaged in the business of whaling on page 98.



Scammon's illustrations in *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America* are both dramatic and scientifically accurate.

The book notes on page 27 that Scammon "did not record his feelings about whaling, except to state that he did it because there was no other job offered to him at the time." Unless new evidence of Scammon's true feelings about whaling—at the time of his active career, and not in hindsight—come to light, it is there that the book must rest.

Another judgment, which may be true but which is not documented, is that Scammon welcomed, "unlike many an old square-rig sailor" the innovation of steam at sea simply because five of the six revenue cutters he commanded were steamers. Unverified speculation does not have a place in a scholarly work. This becomes very apparent on page 79 when it is suggested that vessels commanded by Scammon and lost in their later careers were wrecked possibly because of their new masters' "inferior" skills and experience. Such favoritism toward the obviously skilled Scammon at the unnecessary expense of his peers is unacceptable.

The book was written with the strong influences of historical particularism and romanticism. The particularism, though acceptable in an older historical style, may not be in the best interest of the

book, which is the first biography of Scammon and could have been appreciably strengthened by analytical commentary. A discussion of Scammon's early career as master of the schooner *Phoenix* might have benefitted from context-setting statements to indicate the vessel's place in coastal trade between the Southern states and New England. A more detailed analysis of how the California Gold Rush led to the establishment of San Francisco as the nation's primary whaling port in the late nineteenth century and more detailed analysis of the role and function of the United States Revenue Marine would aid the book. Scammon's life and achievements have more significance when adequately compared with and assessed in light of the more basic themes of history. The lack of analytical discussion becomes more notable when romantic filler takes its place: "He had endured many hardships, spent many stormy days at sea in great peril but he had made his living from it. He was a long way from that boy who had run along the banks of the Kennebec River in Maine, following a departing ship, bursting with enthusiasm, listening to the stories of seamen, watching the shipbuilders."

The book is also marred with numerous typographical errors and inadequate proof-reading which would provide consistency in terminology. As expressed in the foreword and preface, the intent of the book was to provide "a portrait of the subject." The portrait has been painted, but the brush strokes are not precise and the complexion of the portrait is perhaps too rosy. The overwhelming feeling is that the author's intent would have been better served by a precise, detailed scholarly effort which had benefitted more fully from the hand of the editor. ■

Gaspar de Portolá, Explorer and Founder of California.

By Fernando Boneu Companys. Translated and revised by Alan K. Brown. (Lerida, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, 1983, 404 pp., no price information.)

Reviewed by Harry Kelsey, Chief Curator at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County and author of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo.

Work on this book began when Fernando Boneu, a Doctor of Medicine and a native of Balaguer, decided to spend his retirement writing a genealogy of the Portolá family that had been so prominent in the recent history of Catalonia. In the course of his research Dr. Boneu discovered that Gaspar de Portolá had been the leader of a party sent in 1769 to missionize and settle Upper California. Learning also that there were records of the expedition, Boneu determined to add these documents to his study, unaware that the diary of Portolá and the journal of Miguel Costansó had been published in California, both in Spanish and in English, more than half a century earlier.

On the other hand, the author knew of and expanded upon Father Pedro Sanahuja's biographical sketch of Por-

tolá, done in Spain in 1945, but very nearly unknown in the United States. Thus, Boneu's study of the Portolá family and brief biography of Gaspar de Portolá drew upon primary and secondary sources in Spain but not those in the United States. This information gap illustrates a lamentable fact of research on Hispanic America. Things published in the United States are often very difficult to locate in Latin America or Spain, and vice versa. A serious problem, the solution ought to be one that the various scholarly organizations could easily remedy, though none seem interested in doing so.

Faced with this situation, translator Alan K. Brown has made a considerable asset of what might have been just another case of duplicated effort, adding valuable information where it seems appropriate and using materials not consulted for the original edition. His translation of the Costansó journal draws upon no less than eight surviving manuscript copies. Where major differences exist between the texts, these are listed at the bottom of the page, a pleasant surprise for readers who now turn almost automatically to the back of the book for what used to be called footnotes.

The original Portolá diary is lost. Professor Brown bases his translation on the printed version of the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid with annotations from the previously published copy in the Bancroft Library. Here, too, the differences are noted conveniently at the bottom of the page, as are all the notes in the book.

Some of the information gathered on the Portolá expedition deserves more attention than it has received. The "iron Tires from a Ship's Mainmast" found at Monterrey Bay and the "knives and other iron tools, blue wool cloth and other articles" found in the Indian villages do not seem to typify a native Eden untouched by European civilization. Yet, these and other evidences of possible contact have been largely ignored by historians and anthropologists.

While the Boneu study is not quite a full biography of Gaspar de Portolá, it is a major step in that direction. Professor Brown's translation, notes, and introductory remarks add significantly to the scholarly character of the work. The typography is a great improvement upon that of the original edition. The numerous illustrations are generally clear and interesting, and some are in excellent color. The printing of the text is fine, but the typesetting has a careless look. Two closely-set pages of "Corrigenda" list only the major portion of these mistakes. An index would have been very helpful, as would a map or two. ■

California Women: A History.

By Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop. (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Co., 1987, 192 pp., \$7.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, Professor of History at California State University, Chico, and author of Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco 1849-1900.

California Women: A History is a teasingly fascinating overview of women's California experience. Each era, ethnic group, region, each political, social and economic milestone is at least mentioned in this new book by Gloria Ricci Lothrop and Joan M. Jensen.

The most interesting aspect of the book is in its sectioning—rural and urban frontiers, the progressive era, the decade between the wars, World War II, and modern times—as the authors deal with women breaking new ground and making a place for themselves in the West by choice, rather than as extensions of their husbands or fathers.

Brief biographies of women like Jeanie Foster Curry, Yosemite mountain climber

and "first manager of a new recreational facility," Louise Thaden, who won the first National Women's Air Derby and set a number of women's flying records, and the famous photographers, Imogen Cunningham and Dorothea Lange, help to personalize this broad, sweeping history of California women.

Jensen and Lothrop give us a particularly fascinating glimpse into union activities in the chapter "Between the Wars." Given the unhealthy and exploitive conditions in the agricultural fields, canneries, and factories, it is hardly surprising that union successes were limited and hard-won. What is surprising is the success of union women in the film industry. The irony, of course, is that the very success of Hollywood unions was to bring them under the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952.

California during World War II, as the authors point out, was a place of frenetic activity because of the number of war industries, debarkation centers, and military posts there. Women not only were part of the excitement but learned during this time to value themselves and their abilities. In turn, these women taught their daughters not to be "helpless before the iron." Many of those daughters would later refuse women's traditional roles as they grew up in the new world of the 1960s.

For the graduate student searching for a dissertation topic or the scholar looking for a new direction for research, this book offers a wealth of ideas. Each section presents a fascinating glimpse of California women and a desire to know more. The brief biographical sketches sprinkled through the chapters merely whet the appetite. There is also a certain amount of frustration in reading this kind of book: the reader inevitably wants more biographical information, more detail. However, as the editor states in the introduction, the books in the series are "meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive, interpretive rather than definitive." ■

Left Hand Turn: A Story of the Donner Party Women.

By Jeanette Gould Maino. (No place: No publisher, 1987, iii, 213 pages, plus notes).

Reviewed by Glenda Riley, Professor of History at the University of Northern Iowa and author of *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains*.

This is a strange kind of history, that is, if it is history. The story is historical truth, the research is extensive, and the attention to actual detail is admirable, but the form is more that of a novel than historical narrative. If it is not history, is it then historical fiction? The answer appears to be no; rather it is a hybrid of historical fact and fictional format that fits no formal genre.

What is clear about *Left Hand Turn* is that it is a labor of love by its author, Jeanette Gould Maino, who remembers first reading the story of the Donner party in 1907 when she was nine years old. She comments that, "the truths in that dark blood-colored book followed me for years." (i) She continued to search out information about the tragic Donner party for years, a long quest that resulted in this personal and touching volume. Maino is particularly concerned with the plight of the women and children of the Donner party, in her view innocents who had been "brought willy-nilly into misery and suffering." (iii) It is not surprising, given this introductory statement, that the tale opens with Tamsen Donner unsuccessfully pleading with her husband to abandon his plan to leave the main California-bound train to follow a shortcut recommended in a slim guidebook titled *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*.

Yet Maino does not present the men of the Donner party as mean, wrong-headed, or stupid. She rejects Eliza Farnham's popular 1856 account, *California Indoors and Out*, that characterized the

women as smart and strong while the men were stubborn and cowardly. Drawing upon fictional and historical sources as well as her own emerging intuitions about the emigrants, Maino instead presents the men and women of the Donner party as people ignorant of the perils of the crossing and too gullible to the printed guide that claimed to have the answers.

The tale of the Donner party that emerges here is fascinating, engrossing, and accurate in detail. It is more difficult to determine its accuracy in interpretation. Frequently interspersed throughout the text are boxed-in quotes which are intended to lend credence to the author's tack. Even were footnotes supplied, it is doubtful that any extant source holds the "truth" about the disastrous trek.

There is a bibliography which gives the interested reader an extensive list of titles to pursue. At the same time, it reveals that the author did not draw heavily on recent scholarly literature, particularly that in historical journals concerning the westward crossing and the roles of female emigrants.

There is no doubt that this book is an excellent read. Whether it is history or fiction, however, remains unresolved. ■

Golden Poppies: California History and Contemporary Life in Books and Other Media for Young Readers.

By Faye B. Morrison and Kathryn Cusick. (Hamden, Conn.: Library Professional Publication [The Shoe String Press], 1987, 267 pp., \$29.50 cloth, \$18.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Jim Silverman, specialist in California Children's literature and the interpretation of history to children.

Golden Poppies is a gold mine of information for teaching an elementary Cali-

ifornia curriculum. Its bibliographic wealth promises great assets to children of all ages as well as to adult history buffs. This mine's beauty is in its very nature. You can reach in and dig among four hundred titles arranged with annotations, comments, a general reading level, and by author, title, and topical subject indices. Two appendixes identify selected distributors for print and non-print materials.

Miners and minors alike should find what they are looking for. There are non-fiction titles rich in natural history, geology, anthropology, architecture, biography, and writings on specific historic to modern epochs. Fiction ranges from works appropriate to the youngest reader to those for mature high school students.

The identified titles suggest a picture of what is and is not "out there." Among the three hundred monographs, over half are non-fiction, most aimed at intermediate to sophisticated readers. There seems a paucity of non-fiction for the youngest students of California. Among the fiction, most addresses intermediate readers. Younger children are kept almost exclusively within the cycles of California Indian mythology.

An amazing assortment of materials, almost all produced recently, is gathered under the "Nonbook Media" rubric; posters, film strips, audio cassettes, puzzles, computer programs, curriculum kits, and dramatic scripts. Here is where the action is. Omitting the computer program "Oregon Trail" (Interact) is regrettable. It actively engages players in critical thinking required on the overland journey, but the wagons don't head for California.

I can think of few other titles that belong here. The authors found *California Historical Monuments*, now out of print, but missed *California Historical Landmarks* (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1982). Readers might enjoy *Dear Papa*, correspondence between John Muir and his daughter Wanda (Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1985). Probably



Santa Barbara's distinctive style is retained in preservation efforts.

too new to be included are Stephanie Kegan's *Places to Go with Children in Northern California* and the companion Southern California guide (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1986). *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, an exquisite autobiography by the young Jade Snow Wong, ought to be included, but no bibliography is quite complete. The issue of including textbooks becomes marginal if one includes curriculum materials. I would stretch the rules to include *Whispers from the First Californians* and *Whispers Along the Mission Trail* (Alamo: Magpie Publications, 1980 and 1986), arguing on the side of pragmatic value.

Thanks go to Faye Morrison and Kathryn Cusick for nurturing this project from its adolescent first edition in 1979 into its maturity. They have performed a labor of love in the service of elementary education. ■

Preserving the West: California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Oregon, Washington.

By Randolph Delahanty and E. Andrew McKinney. Foreword by William T. Frazier, National Trust for Historic Preservation. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, v + 181 pp., \$17.95 paper.)

The Public Landscape of the New Deal.

By Phoebe Cutter. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, vii + 182 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Paul H. Fagette, Jr., University of California, Riverside.

Randolph Delahanty has captured pictorially the essence of significant, representative Western preservation. Working through all levels, i.e., federal, state, local, private, and foundation, he presents an exceptionally clear scenario for

avocational and professional Western scholars. More than just an organized presentation of excellent photographs, the first thirty pages furnish a well conceived explanation of the preservation process.

Several key themes comprise the organizational basis of *Preserving the West*. The diverse institutional role of the federal government always looms large, as the U.S. government stands as the largest western land owner. However, the West exults in its own unique personality traits where the continuing strength of Western individualism inhibits large-scale cooperative preservation but creates a matchless panorama and grandeur with its geographical and cultural variants of Indians, Mexican, and Anglo/American. Working within these larger guidelines, Delahanty applies them to the various states and reveals additional motivational and directional influences. The uneven evolution of the state of historic consciousness in the West follows two patterns: where economic change threatens, money and organized groups are the first hope, but where only growth is concerned little remains. Present successes and failures, relative to the pace of economic metamorphosis and the nature of historic consciousness, are pictured in graphic black-and-white photos. Included are a historical purview of Los Angeles, rapidity of change in San Francisco, stylistic distinctiveness in Santa Barbara, attempts to compromise economic rejuvenation and shopping malls ("partial preservation"), environmental/earthquake rebuilding at Stanford, locally based Indian and Mexican projects, and the few remnants of boom and bust entities ("Disposable Landscape").

Preserving the West offers further clarification as to the fragmented nature of historic preservation in the United States. The high quality of the pictures by E. Andrew McKinney, especially the Mission San Xavier del Bac on the Pagago Indian Reservation, dramatically underscore the themes presented.

In a different vein, *The Public Landscape*

of the New Deal attempts to deal with the inherent forces, particularly landscape architects, influencing New Deal policies regarding landscaping, resettlement projects, highways, buildings, and parks. Phoebe Cutler, a landscape architect herself, applies the concepts and strong European influences that motivate that discipline to the many New Deal projects involving such ideas and explains their role. If the author had done simply that the book would have a stronger conceptual framework.

A diverse organizational structure presents the arguably strong influence of designers in the project formulation. Moving from metropolitan area to state through the agencies of the New Deal, *Public Landscape* offers a peculiarly distinct view of how and why design planning manifested itself. Cutler is at her best when she assesses the spatial and architectural bases (particularly Italian) of projects. Chapter Two begins the outline of how projects had to build on local codes and ideas already present and Chapter Three outlines the strongest proof regarding a national or contiguous influence. Comparative illustrations and diagrams offer dramatic evidence of just how classical European designs found their way into New Deal projects such as those in Dallas. Later chapters focus on the influence of domestic themes of proximity to nature, communal existence, and recreation.

Interpretively, the book presents a more serious historical flaw that cannot be overlooked. The author presumes that policy and cooperation at the federal level was distinct and consistent throughout the New Deal. Recent interpretive studies (not mentioned in the bibliography) portray policy evolving within an ambiguous political atmosphere interacting with local, state, budgetary, labor, even personality pressures. To characterize this compromising crucible as one where "Romanticism ruled the day" belies the reality of the New Deal where idealistic designer competed with a myriad of voices. ■

Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of a Modern City.

By Scott L. Bottles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, xiii + 302 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Howard R. Holter, *Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills and Director, Public History Program.*

How should Los Angeles and other metropolitan areas cope with increasing traffic problems? What is the likely future of light rail and subway systems for commuters? Some intelligent perspectives on these vexing and related public policy issues can be found in this well-written, well-researched book. Would that elected officials and city planners paid more heed to vital contributions of public history as presented here and ceased coming up with solutions that have never worked.

Bottles's main theme, contrary to the inappropriate and misleading title of the book, is the fifty-year failure of fixed-rail transportation in Los Angeles and other American cities (only about fifteen percent deals with the automobile as such). Contrary to continuing myths that a conspiracy of Standard Oil, General Motors, and Firestone Rubber killed off Los Angeles's "Red Cars" and interurban railroads, the author maintains that "nothing could be further from the truth" (p. 255, n.2). Instead, factors such as lack of public support, love of the automobile, railroad company corruption, consistent failure to make a profit, and failure to solve people-moving problems did them in. Bottles suggests that history's lessons will probably be repeated with regard to Los Angeles's projected new Metrorail and light rail systems. Past failures of regulatory agencies, unwillingness by elected officials to heed experts' advice, and inherent problems of Los Angeles's geography—all presented here—should be heeded by today's policy-makers.

The treatment of the automobile in Los Angeles is widened to include its impact upon the spatial structure of the urban area (urban sprawl), its involvement with the democratic political process (it furthered the process), its effect upon the continuing tension between centralization and suburbanization in the business community, and the manner in which an amorphous urban population can be welded together when faced with crises in mass transportation. The author presents information to show that current levels of congestion are not new: by 1920 there were 30,000 automobiles streaming into the central area each day, creating bumper-to-bumper traffic, even then giving Los Angeles the reputation of being the country's most congested city.

This book is a delight to read. Its style is straightforward and clear, although at times it gets bogged down in excessive governmental and bureaucratic details. Its dozens of photographs and charts are of great interest all by themselves. The research is solidly based upon primary sources, and a wide knowledge of urban historical scholarship is displayed. ■

Water in the Hispanic Southwest: A Social and Legal History, 1550–1850.

By Michael C. Meyer. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984. xiii, 189 pp., \$26.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Abraham Hoffman, author and historian who has written on Mexican American history and water resource development in California.

For over three centuries preceding the acquisition of the Southwest by the United States, the region was under Spanish and Mexican control, and this Hispanic heritage is seen today in many

ways—place names, people, language, and customs. Michael C. Meyer examines the relationship between water as a resource and its effect on the development of Hispanic-Mexican-Indian society in the Southwest. Utilizing archival collections at the Bancroft Library, the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and at libraries in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, plus an impressive range of published sources, Meyer has produced an excellent and unusual historical study. Very little is to be found in this book of political developments and changes; in fact, the independence of Mexico is hardly mentioned, inasmuch as it had virtually no effect on the evolution of Hispanic water law. The focus of this study is on that evolution, the struggle to survive in an essentially hostile environment through the careful use of its most precious resource—its water.

Meyer argues forcefully for the importance of environmental influence on the shaping of water law in the Southwest. In a region where water is such a scarce resource, any attempts to divert water would affect the environment. Meyer finds the term "acculturation," describing human interactions, inadequate for the relationship of man to the environment; he applies the term *ecolulturation* to the human adaptations and changes of the ecosystem of the Southwest—a process that "also helped mold the contours of southwestern society." Recognition of the importance of environmental factors contributes to the fullness of this study. Meyer utilizes dendrochronology, for example, in charting wet and dry cycles, a measurement he finds more relevant than the recollections of officials who might have been exaggerating or suffering memory lapses.

In comparing Anglo and Hispanic societies in the Southwest, the impression is often given that Anglos have tampered with the environment, shaping it to their needs with dams and aqueducts, while Indian-Hispanic society lived more in harmony with the environment.

Meyer demonstrates effectively that every human who has survived in the region has found it necessary to make changes. Long before the Spaniards explored the Southwest, indigenous peoples such as the Hohokam in Arizona dug hundreds of miles of irrigation canals, and traces of their work are still visible, not merely as reminders of an ancient culture but as demonstrable evidence of man's hand upon the land. Water and its availability determined patterns of settlement as shown by the large number of Southwestern place names that are water-connected: Agua Prieta, Carrizo Springs, Sweetwater, Artesia. Moreover, the settlement and ownership of land brought on an incredible amount of litigation over a seemingly endless series of questions about water rights. Spaniard sued Indian, Indian sued Spaniard, and Spaniard sued Spaniard over riparian rights, prior settlement, need, the rights of pueblo, mission, and presidio as against each other's claims, consumption of water by animals as against plants, and other disputes. Out of this tangle gradually emerged an accommodation to the land and its precious liquid resource.

Meyer considers the significance of water in two basic aspects: its importance to society and the development of water law during the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods. A chapter on the transition and changes under American rule would have been of interest, but this transcends the focus of Meyer's study. The book is nonetheless important for its careful research and authority on a topic too often generalized. From this study may come an understanding of how different cultures viewed their water resources, how it was necessary to resolve the differences between the two societies in defining and finally mixing those views, and the recognition that ultimately man must respect this resource if he is to survive on the land. These are lessons still being learned today, and if the issues of protection of environmental resources as opposed to

the needs of man seem hopelessly complex, we may at least take dubious comfort in learning that these questions are as old as the first civilization which put its mark on the land. ■

California's Chumash Indians. A Project of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History Education Center.

Contributions by Rosalind Perry, Lynn Roche, Pam Hoeft, Jan Timbrook, Patricia Campbell and Nick Miller (Santa Barbara: John Daniel, Publisher, 1986, 77 pp., \$5.95 paper).

Reviewed by William J. Wallace, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at California State University, Long Beach and author of numerous articles and monographs dealing with California Indian life.

This little book offers a quick look at the Chumash, who once occupied the coastal region from San Luis Obispo to Malibu. These Indians, whose major villages lay along the Santa Barbara Channel, created a unique form of culture, differing in detail and degree of complexity from that of their neighbors. The Spaniards, who often referred to them as the Canalinio, regarded the Chumash as superior to other Californian tribes with whom they came into contact.

A short introductory chapter sets the background. The next traces the decline of the Chumash and loss of their ancestral culture in historic times. The first group of native Californians encountered by Europeans, they decreased rapidly in population, and their aboriginal way of life crumbled away under Hispanic missionization and colonization. By the middle of the last century they were close to extinction and their traditional



CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO

Chumash women in the early twentieth century.

manner of living was reduced to a few isolated practices and shreds of memory.

Remaining chapters cover various aspects of Chumash culture, beginning with the village setting and ending with rock art. Craftsmanship, in which they excelled, receives particular attention. A whole chapter is devoted to the making and use of their remarkable sea-going, plank canoe, a watercraft praised by Spanish navigators.

To be sure, this description of Chumash culture has its shortcomings. Perhaps the greatest fault lies in a failure to

underscore the importance of the sea and its products. Predominantly a coastal people, these Indians were more maritime in their habits than any other Californian group, and they made full use of the exceptionally rich marine resources of their territory. The plank canoe enabled them to venture out upon the open sea to hunt sea otters, sea lions, and seals as well as to take large fish with harpoon and nets and lesser species with nets and hook-and-line. Quantities of shellfish were gathered along the shoreline. Yet, although the text has a lot to say

about wild plant foods, those obtained from the sea receive only passing mention, though they are listed among other items in a chapter titled, "Uses of Natural Materials."

Dedicated to the Chumash people of today and to the memory of D. Travis Hudson, whose researches helped greatly to recreate their vanished cultural heritage, *California's Chumash Indians* serves as a useful introductory guide to the manner of living of an interesting group of native Californians. The telling of the story without an overcrowding of factual detail makes it easy to read the book straight through. Imaginative drawings complement the text, and a list of places to go to learn more about the Chumash and a reasonably complete bibliography enhance the slim volume's usefulness. ■

Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975.

By Robert R. Alvarez, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, xv, 213 pp. \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, *Professor of History, University of San Francisco, Orden Mexicana del Aguila Azteca, and author of various books and articles on the history of the Spanish Californias.*

The author, a member of the families treated in this work, holds a doctorate in anthropology and has taught in that field in several universities. The core of his work deals with a relatively uncommon aspect of the populating of the State of California, late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century migration from the peninsula of Baja California. The movement of the Márquez, Mesa (Meza?), Smith, and Castellanos families and

their lateral relatives and descendants from Baja California Sur via the mines of Calmallí (1880-1910, Tijuana, Mexico), Calexico, and San Diego (1910-1930) to settle finally in Lemon Grove (1930-1950) is the substance of this book and is well covered between pages 50 and 163. This text, based primarily upon oral interviews, is enhanced with appropriate photographs and genealogical charts, and treats of the nature of family networks in stimulating movement from Baja California.

Although this section is useful to specialists in migration history, and especially in the history of Baja California, the remainder of the volume is somewhat of a mixture of bits and pieces of history and social anthropology, all in what appears to be a rough draft. The first two chapters are an attempt to present a historical background and include such curious items as the discovery of a return route from the Philippines to Acapulco in 1543, successful Jesuit conversion in Baja California between 1632 and 1648, the presence of Dutch pirates in the Bay of La Paz, and reference to Jesuit Fathers Kino, Piccolo, and Ugarte as friars! Little or no mention is made of pearling, Manuel de Ocio, or other aspects of civil settlement in the peninsula, and a claim of Baja California "neutrality" as a "sign of northward orientation" during the U.S.-Mexican War is simply contrary to historical fact. If anything, native Bajacalifornios are more Mexican than Mexicans. Statements such as that Homre Aschmann's classic is the "only significant ethnohistorical study" of Baja California, the anarchical use of accents and ñ in Spanish text, strange translations ("barnyard" for *caballeriza*) and transcriptions (*fundación* for *fundición*; *hay* for *ahí*), and the constant use of "Baja" for Baja California all suggest a very superficial knowledge of the peninsula, its bibliography, and the Spanish language, or the publication of an uncorrected, unproofed rough draft.

The topic is a good one, and worthy of further study. Use of Spanish language

published sources (virtually absent from the bibliography), as well as documentary material (totally absent) from the Archivo Histórico de Baja California Sur, the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC, and parish and civil registries could make this a first class work. This book is, with the foregoing caveats, still a useful addition to a collection in the field. ■

John A. Sutter's Last Days/ The Bidwell Letters.

Edited by Allan R. Ottley (Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1986, \$37.50 cloth).

Reviewed by Gregg M. Campbell, *Professor of History at California State University, Sacramento, and past president of the Sacramento County Historical Society.*

California bibliophiles can welcome the publication of *John A. Sutter's Last Days/The Bidwell Letters*, edited by Allan R. Ottley, for a number of reasons.

First, this book, the first publication in fifteen years by the Sacramento Book Collector's Club, is a contemporary example of fine printing at its best. Selected by the Rounce and Coffin Club as one of the fifty best books produced in the West in 1986, *Sutter's Last Days* was designed by Susan Acker of the Feathered Serpent Press of San Rafael. The book is a joy to the hand and the eye, as well as for the mind.

Secondly, in addition to new information on Sutter's last days compiled by Allan Ottley, longtime California State Librarian, this volume also includes a number of letters written between John Bidwell in Chico and Annie Bidwell, who was visiting relatives in Washington, D.C. when John Sutter died in June, 1880. Though separated by over 3,000 miles, the Bidwells wrote to each other

as often as every other day. These letters thus take on the aspect of recorded conversation, giving the impression that, at least for the Bidwells, the distance between California and Washington was not as formidable as we might imagine.

The Bidwell letters also reveal details of Victorian social convention and late nineteenth-century gender relations. In his almost scolding letters to Annie, John expressed concern that the memory of his former employer and patron be properly honored. Annie replied that she had bought "an anchor" (a memorial wreath in the shape of an anchor), had attended the services, and would attempt to visit Mrs. Sutter in Lititz, Pennsylvania. There in late July, she found the bereaved widow in more comfortable circumstances than Sutter had indicated in his pleas to Congress, but in the care of her son, Emil, whom Annie judged to be "evidently deranged." Annie implored her husband to take measures to place the Sutter estate in better hands than Emil's, but in his last letter John concluded, "Col. Schaeffer, you say, thinks young Sutter crazy, I think not; he has always been just so; he never seemed to have any sense."

These letters also prompt reflections on the curious twists of fate that brought John Sutter and John Bidwell together in California in the 1840s. Sutter's life is replete with ironic themes. One is that he should spend his last days in the colony founded by William Penn, for there are parallels between the two men's lives. Though Sutter's visions and appetites were more carnal than Penn's, both were European visionaries. Both benefited from America's natural bounty, and both were swept aside by the dynamics and ethics of an entrepreneurial culture that outran their Old World sense of status

and deference. Penn, the proprietor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and Sutter, once the lord of vast holdings in California's lower Sacramento Valley, were each overwhelmed by settlement processes they set in motion but could neither comprehend nor control.

Both men in giving form to their visions precipitated events that changed the course of history. In creating Pennsylvania, Penn gave life to a rich complex of cultural values that would sustain men like Benjamin Franklin and provide an arena in which both the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution would be written. In founding New Helvetia, John Sutter set in motion the creation of the state of California, today the world's sixth ranked economy. Sutter's vision, like Penn's, was vexed by men in pursuit of quicker gain, but in the words of Gen. William T. Sherman, to Sutter "more than any single person are we indebted for the conquest of California with all its treasures."

The conventional wisdom that Sutter was ruined by the Gold Rush is herein given credence in a *Sacramento Record-Union* editorial of June 21, 1880, stating that "the gold era swamped him." The larger patterns of Sutter's life indicate, however, that the man was incapable of remaining solvent. Sutter fled Switzerland as a bankrupt and he appears to have developed financial difficulties in St. Louis, Santa Fe, and Westport, Kansas, with singular alacrity. A case can be made that Sutter was effectively bankrupt from the time he purchased Fort Ross from the Russians in 1841. The Gold Rush in fact provided him with the means to work his way out of bankruptcy. Or rather, John Augustus Sutter, Jr.'s response to the Gold Rush-generated land boom provided the resources to pay

off his father's debts, for which the elder Sutter was eternally ungrateful.

There is further irony in the fact that Sutter, who let so many fortunes slip through his grasp, was reduced to pleading his case to Congressmen, whom Mark Twain labeled "the only native criminal class in America." But the greatest irony of all may be that Sutter did not actually need to plead his case before Congress. In her visit to Lititz, Pennsylvania, in August, 1880, Annie Bidwell found the Sutter home to be

a good two-story brick house, apparently in good repair. I only saw the hall, library, back porches & yard, but none of these exhibited the state of decay represented by Mr. Sutter. The library is a delightful room.

Sutter seemed to possess the resources to live out his life in quiet comfort, but in old age as so many times before he was prompted to seek center stage casting himself in his last public role as a bankrupt rather than the baronial benefactor of New Helvetia.

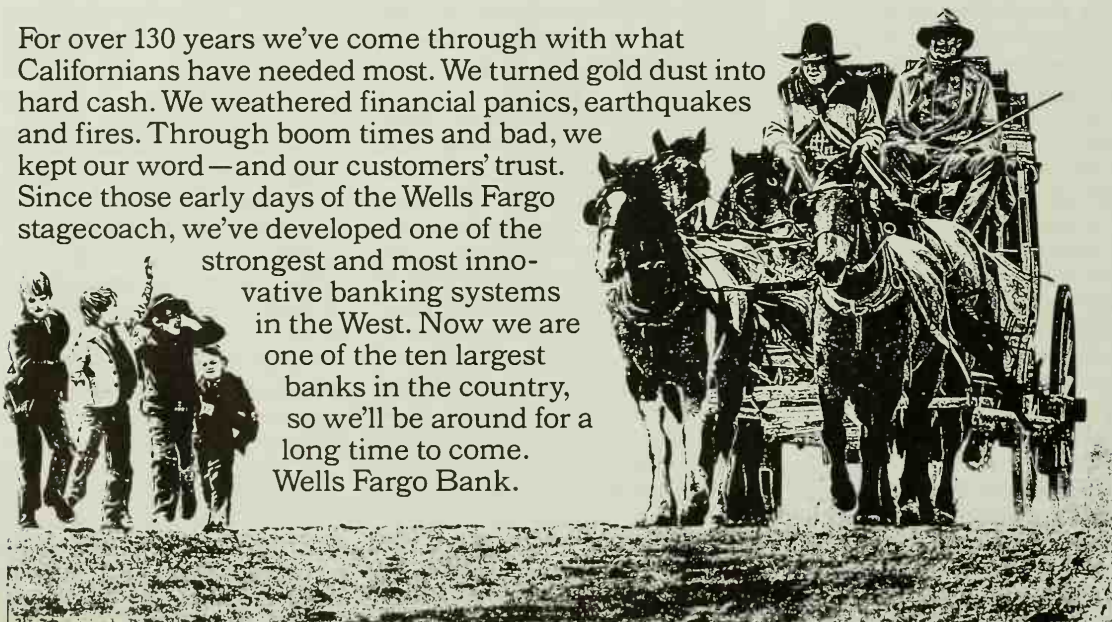
This slim but elegant volume not only brings to the public new information on Sutter, the Bidwells, and nineteenth century cultural values, but it does so with notable editorial skill and scholarly diligence. The book contains historic photos of Sutter and the Bidwells, eulogies, poems and letters in five appendixes and extensive footnotes illuminating the text and the historic documents. The endpapers carry a rendering of the Sutter home in Lititz, Pennsylvania.

All parties involved in the publication of this volume are to be commended. California bibliophiles can only urge the Sacramento Book Collectors Club not to let another decade and a half pass before their next offering of fine printing and solid scholarship. ■

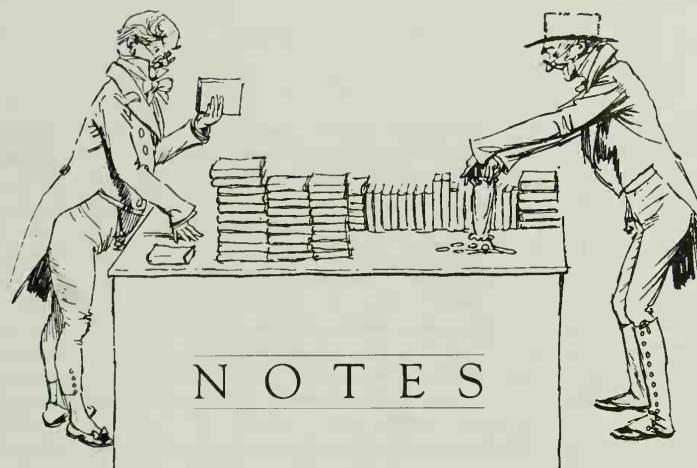
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2. *Ibid.*
3. U.S. Bureau of Land Management, Patent Records T13SR6E SBM.
4. Marshal South, "The Art of Living," *Desert Magazine*, April, 1940, p. 20. (Hereafter cited as *Desert*).
5. South, *Desert*, October, 1940, p. 26. It is also possible that South used nudity to discourage curiosity seekers and admirers from making unwanted visits. In letters, Marshal insisted that all his visitors had to practice nudity. Although the Holliday family continued an admiring correspondence with the Souths, they declined to meet the conditions of a visit to Yaquitepec. Marshal South to Holliday family, May 24, 1940 and July 16, 1940 in Research Files, Anza Borrego Visitor Center, Borrego Springs.
6. *Desert Magazine* (September, 1945), p. 25. Photographs very similar in content and feeling also appear in *Desert*, August, 1940, p. 23, November, 1940, p. 25, December, 1941, p. 19.
7. The adoption of Indian or Hispanic styles of dress was not unique to South. Other writers and artists enamored of "primitive" culture also adopted elements of "native" dress. A 1917 photo of Mable Dodge Luhan shows her draped in Pueblo blankets. Dorothy Brett, a Santa Fe painter of English origins, regularly sported cowboy boots, western

shirts and a wide-brimmed "Vaquero" hat in the 1920s and 1930s. Several of Mabel Dodge Luhan's guests were photographed in similar "Vaquero" costume. See Lois Palken Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), pp. 162, 203-4, 278.

Charles Lummis also affected various elements of Indian and Hispanic dress, sometimes costuming his children in a similar fashion (occasionally to their great social discomfort). In his later life Lummis became well known for his corduroy suits, wide woven cummerbunds, drawnwork shirts (made after the fashion of the Isleta Pueblo), and his wide-brim Stetson sombreros. See Turbese Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), pp. 73, 93-96, 99-101.

8. *San Diego Tribune*, November 3, 1948. San Diego County Recorder's Office, Death Certificate, Book 4, County A-Z, January 1, 1942-December 31, 1954.
9. South, *Saturday Evening Post*, March 11, 1939, p. 36.
10. Ernie Cowan, "Yaquitepec," *Desert*, May, 1975, p. 18.
11. Preliminary archeological investigation of the trash pits on Ghost Mountain by California Department of Parks and Recreation archeologists indicates that the family utilized a reasonably large amount of canned goods.
12. "Letters," *Desert*, March, 1941, p. 33.
13. Lummis's role in drawing attention to the value of both Native American and Hispanic cultures has been documented in a number of works dealing with his life and career. In addition to Fiske and Lummis (1975), see Edwin Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis, Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1955). The most recent evaluation of Lummis's contributions as an amateur ethnographer, archeologist, photographer, and preservationist are contained in *Charles F. Lummis: The Centennial Exhibition Commemorating His Tramp Across the Continent*, Daniela P.

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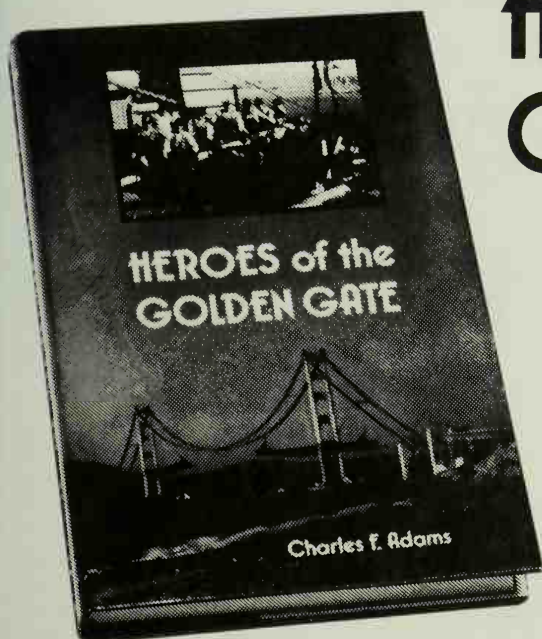
14. See Wesley M. Burnside, *Maynard Dixon: Artist of the West* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974) for a detailed discussion of Dixon's paintings of Native Americans as well as his relationship with Charles F. Lummis. Also of value is Fiske and Lummis (1975), pp. 157-167.
15. This phase of Mabel Dodge Luhan's career is discussed at length in Rudnick. See particularly pp. 145-189.
On the relationship between Native American culture and the work of Southwestern artists see: Deren Coke, *Taos and Santa Fe: The Artists Environment 1882-1941* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963) and Laura Bickerstaff, *Artists of Taos* (Denver: Sage Press, 1955).
16. John Hilton, "He wanted to Paint Honestly," *Desert*, July, 1940, p. 27, on Maynard Dixon. Rita Morris, "Painter of Chaco Canyon," *Desert*, May, 1940, p. 3 on Warren E. Rollins. Hope Gilbert "He Discovered the Southwest for Americans," *Desert*, September, 1944, p. 13, on Lummis.
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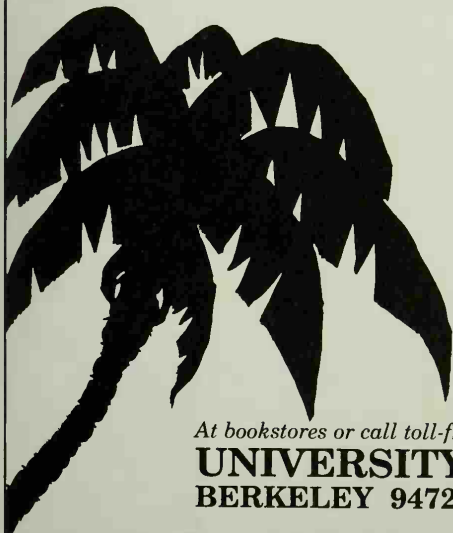
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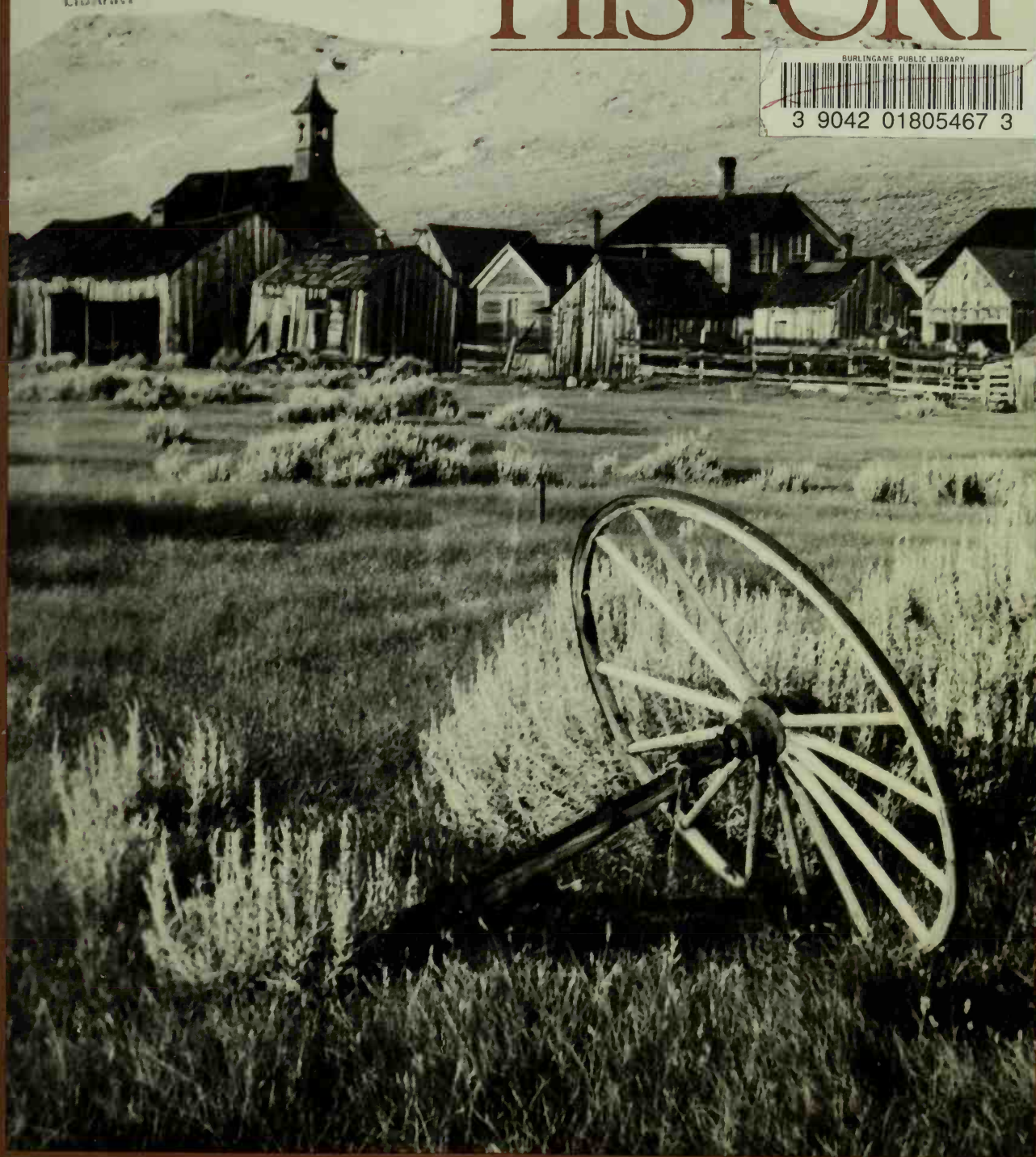
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Milestones in California History



Long Beach looking south toward the famous Pike, one of the city's principle tourist attractions, June 28, 1925. CHS/Ticor Collections.

The South Bay area in Los Angeles County has been celebrating two historic birthdays this past and present year, 1987–1988. First was the celebration of the centennial of the founding of the city of Long Beach. Intertwined with the history of that city are two famed ranchos, Los Alamitos (Little Cottonwoods) and Los Cerritos (Little Hills). The ranches date back to 1784. In that year, Governor Pedro Fages, though unsure of his right to do so, granted the Rancho Los Nietos to a retired soldier, Manuel Nieto. The original grant extended from the Santa Ana River to the San Gabriel River, from the mountains to the sea, and encompassed some 300,000 acres. Later, at the behest of the Mission San Gabriel padres, the title was divided into five ranchos, reducing the total acreage to 158,000 acres. On the death of Nieto in 1804, his son Juan José succeeded to what became known as the Los Alamitos, while his daughter, Doña Manuela Nieto de Cota, took possession of Los Cerritos. The titles were subsequently confirmed by the Mexican government in 1833–1834. The present city of Long Beach lies within the boundaries of these two rancho grants, with most of the original townsite on former Cerritos land. On the eve of the American acquisition, both ranchos were acquired by two Anglos, Abel Stearns and John Temple. After the Civil War, the properties were purchased by two families, the Flints and Bixbys, whose lives became intertwined with the development of the South Bay. Indeed, the whole of Long beach was once the property of the Bixby family. In 1882, an English immigrant, William E. Willmore, acquired 4,000 acres from Jotham Bixby, which embraced the future center of Long Beach. He modestly called his planned community Willmore City. That vanity was shortlived. By 1884 his scheme collapsed, but the seeds had been planted. In 1887, the newly organized Long Beach Land and Water Company was formed and carried on the real estate development, aided and abetted by the land boom of the 1880s. The company renamed the area Long Beach, which in turn quickly won for the burgeoning community recognition as a premier seaside resort. Little wonder, seven miles of unsurpassed beach fronted an inland area that over the ensuing decades would become home to thousands. One of the companies which has participated in the development and history of Long Beach is the Alamitos Land Company.

The California Historical Society is pleased to salute Long Beach on its centennial year past, and the Alamitos Land Company which celebrates its like occasion this year.

(Cover) The town of Bodie, Mono County, resulted from a 1859 gold discovery in the vicinity by Waterman (or William) S. Body (pronounced Bodie). The mining boom lasted until 1870, with a revival from 1876 to 1880. Subsequently, the town was abandoned. Today the ghost town is a State Historic Park. CHS Collection.

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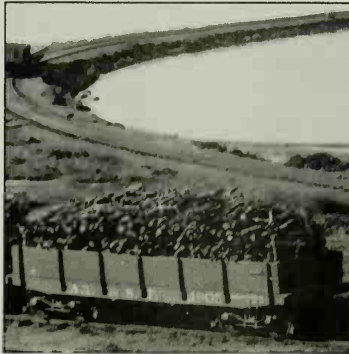
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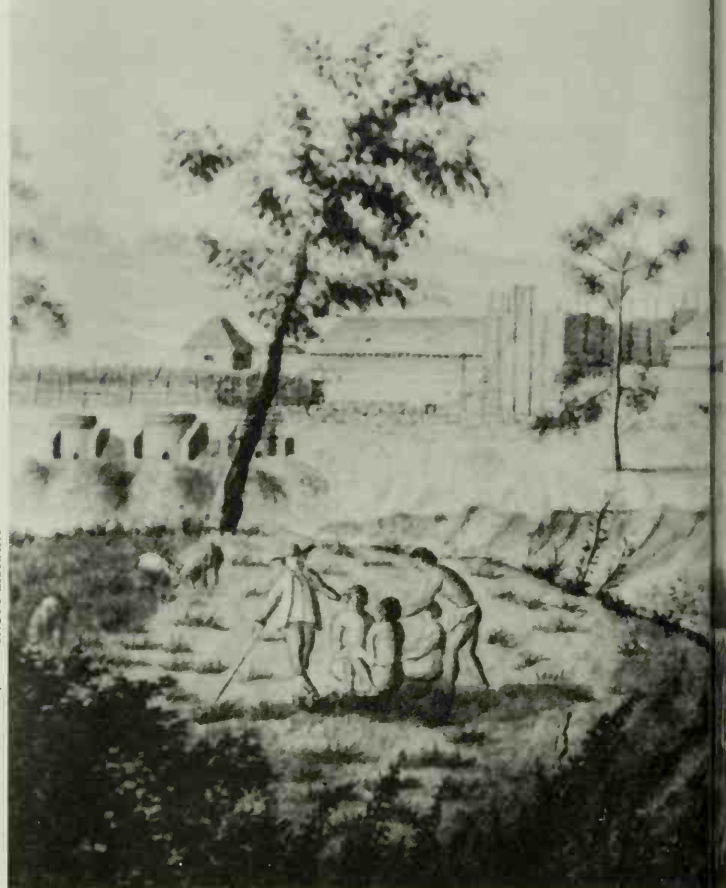
Spain maintained a post surgeon, usually referred to as surgeon-general, at Monterey in Alta California during most of the fifty-three years in which she ruled the province. These men have been listed in chronological order as Pedro Prat, Pedro Castan, José Davila, Pedro Carbajal, Pablo Soler, Juan de Dios Morelos, Manuel Torres, José Benites and Manuel Quijano. Manuel Torres did not actually serve in California. A document of the Accountancy General of the Navy and Royal Finance Ministry of San Blas, dated July 27, 1810, states that "on the 11th of November, 1801 he was assigned there to the Presidio of Monterey, that he presented himself at San Blas on the 2nd of September of 1802, that on the 8th of April of 1803 he acceded to the renouncement of that post as ordered."¹ The fact that Torres did not hold the post has also been speculated upon by a previous writer.²

All of the surgeon-generals came to Monterey by sea. Pedro Prat embarked from La Paz, or perhaps Cabo San Lucas, in Baja California, whereas all of his successors took ship at the port of San Blas on the west coast of Mexico.

José de Galvez, visitador general of New Spain, founded that port in 1768 to serve as a supply base for the contemplated colonization of Alta California and for the existing settlements in Baja California. It was also to serve as the port of departure for vessels exploring the Pacific Coast and countering Russian and English expansion. It was often referred to as San Blas de Californias to differentiate it from other communities of the same name and to indicate its basic function. San Blas became a thriving port with facilities for ship building and repair and with a transient and permanent population made up of maritime people, workers and, of course, chaplains and medical officers. Most of the latter were members of the military and usually affiliated with the Spanish navy.

San Blas was well situated for favorable winds and currents, both for the outbound and inbound voyages but, otherwise, it was not a very satisfactory site. There was no sheltered harbor, and the area was tropical, swampy and abounded in mosquitoes. Dysentery was endemic and malaria prevalent. Its usefulness as a port ended with the passing of sail.

HONEYMAN COLLECTION, BANCROFT LIBRARY



The prime interest in the present study is in Manuel Quijano, frequently spelled Quixano, the last of the Monterey surgeons during the Spanish regime. He served there from 1807 until his death in 1823. Quijano, however, cannot be properly introduced without consideration of his predecessor José Benites.

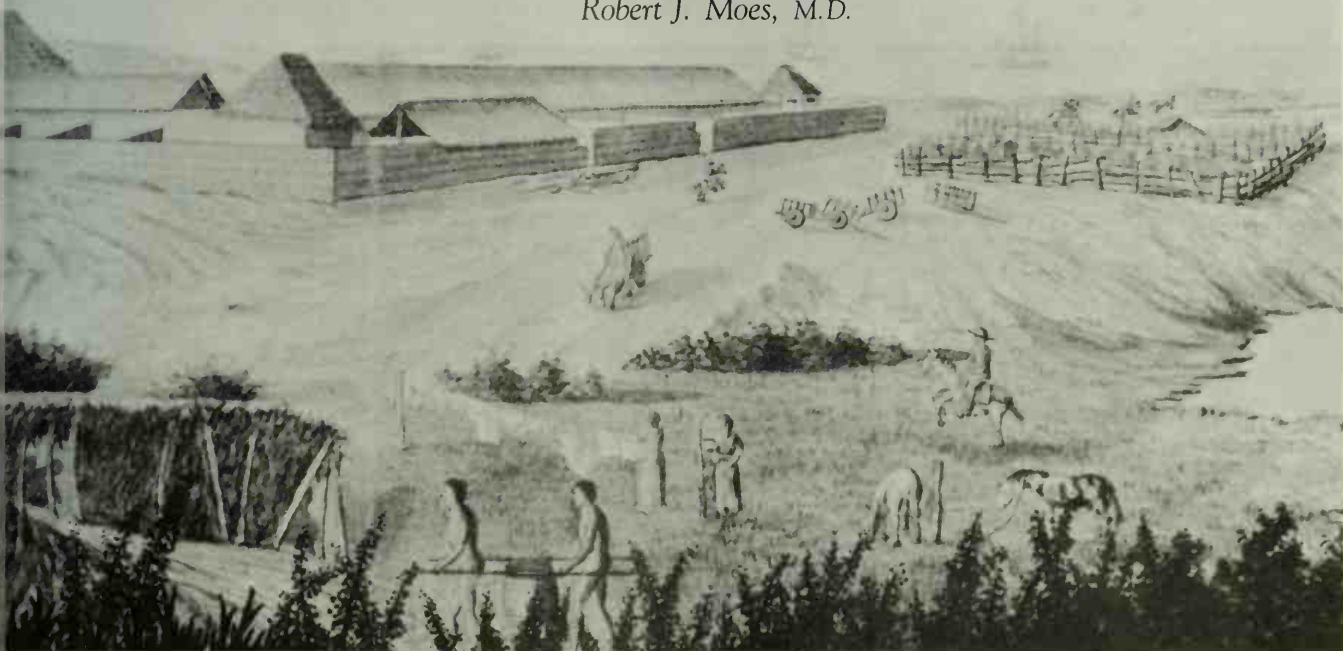
Benites served at Monterey from 1803 to 1807; he also had been one of a pool of officers at San Blas. He is best remembered for a medical report to the viceroy, dated January 1, 1805, covering the health and hygiene of the California population. This communication and its repercussions have been admirably covered elsewhere.³

The tenor of Benites' report is apparent in the second paragraph, the first being introductory.

First syphilis or French malady; humid climate with con-

MANUEL QUIJANO AND WANING SPANISH CALIFORNIA

Robert J. Moes, M.D.



tinuous heavy fogs and great cold. The causes of the first are the use of polluted water employed for all preparations of food, the lack of cleanliness in the homes due to disinclination toward such, their lack of space and the presence of an estuary near the Presidio without communication to the sea except in winter, and even then so stagnant that it spreads putrefaction, which is the origin of diseases. The waste water from the laundry, which is located about four varas [yards] from the above mentioned estuary, serves for the preparation of food, good water being a league and a half distant. The infrequent use of vegetables, or lack of taste for them, the constant exposure of the people to the humidity, fogs and rains in their season and the frequent habit of drying their clothes on their bodies by natural and artificial heat are causes for corruption.

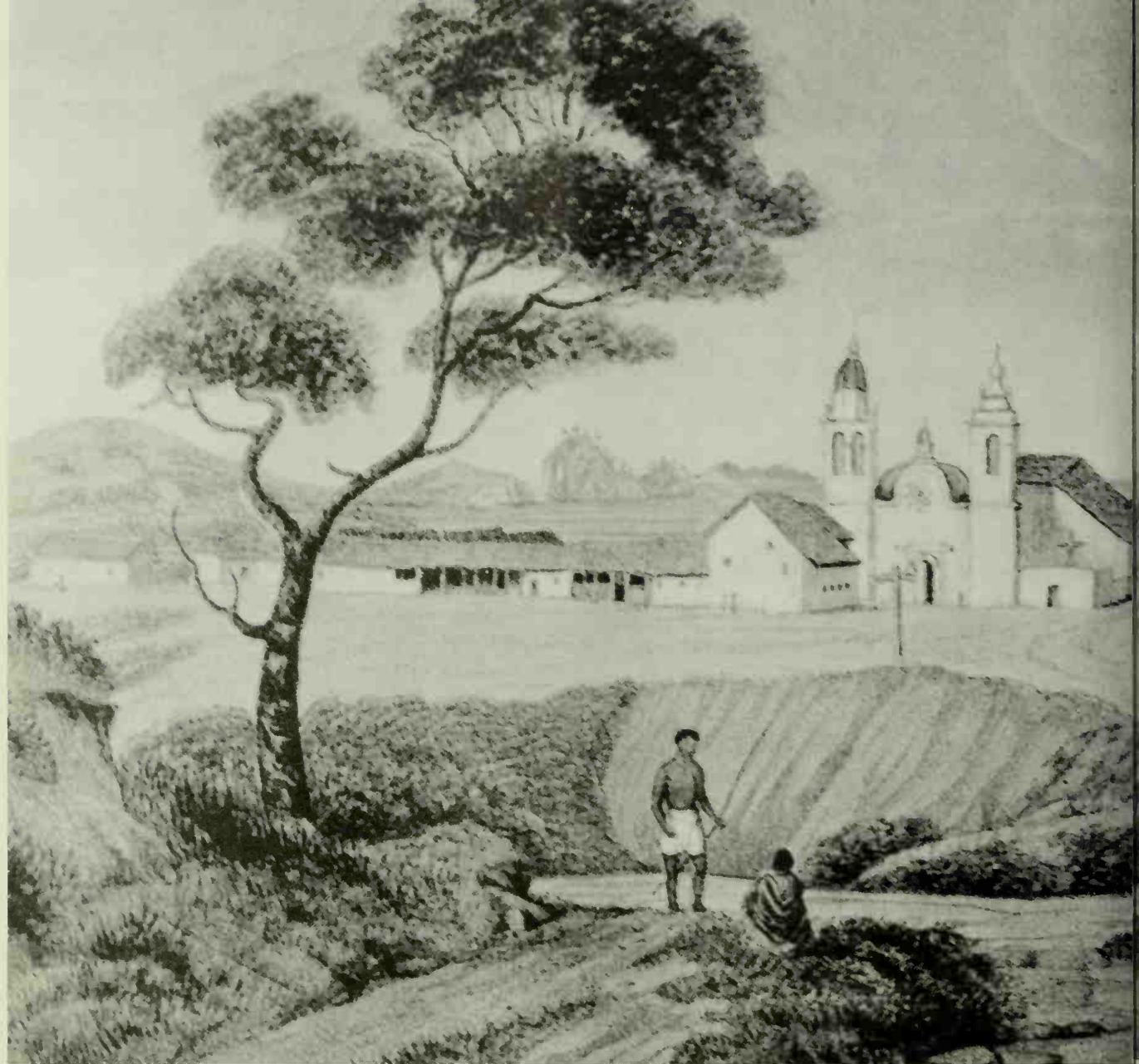
Benites also reports epidemic dysentery, tuberculosis and scrofula (tuberculous disease of the skin, once very common in Europe and referred to in England as the

King's Evil). He notes the great filthiness of the bodies and villages of the Indians and deploras their "excessive impure relations" and "the sick sleeping with the healthy ones." He particularly damns the "depraved" use of temescal or sweat house, which, by modern standards, appears to be one of the few clean and healthy things that the Indians did.

Benites, too, with understandable ego, reports a number of cures which he accomplished. He also reports his findings at Mission San Luis Obispo, apparently the farthest south he had gone on his visits.

He did make one excellent and definite suggestion and, here again, it is best to quote him:

Your Excellency, in this place, in order to further the comfort and nurse the illnesses of the troops and neighbors of the Presidio, and of others, it would be good if we had a room [hospital or infirmary] to help them. Hitherto, for lack of this



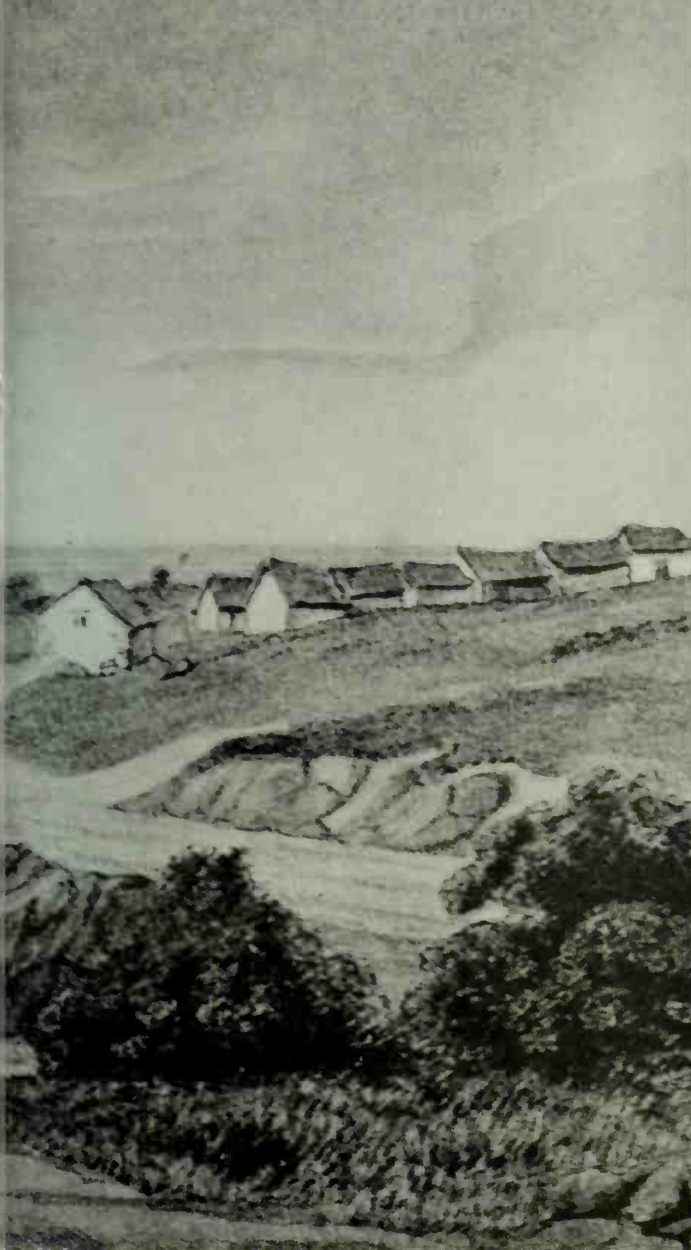
and other equipment many of them have had to be abandoned, to sleep in their homes in one bed with their wives, not having another, from which results spreading of diseases and detriment to the Royal Service. Also the unmarried men in the Presidio are left by themselves in the hands of their own kind. All this I call to the attention of the kindness of Your Excellency that you may make disposition according to your superior pleasure.⁴

The avoidance of responsibility and buck passing

A distinguished collector and scholar of the history of medicine, Robert J. Moes, M.D., is a retired Los Angeles surgeon. He has authored a number of studies of medicine in early California.

created by this report were remarkable. True enough California was a distant province and one in which there was only a small population, but it does seem that bureaucratic fumbling had increased in the short period since the days of Galvez.

Viceroy Iturrigaray received the report and passed it on to the Fiscal, the officer in charge of the Treasury. The Fiscal's review, dated April 27, 1805 and over 600 words in length may be summarized as follows: He was of the laudable opinion that the object should be to adopt the best methods for the welfare of humanity either by destroying the contagiousness of indigenous diseases or by adopting measures to check them. He added that in harmony with the Royal Decree of November 8, 1797, "a physician with an adequate



PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(Previous page) José Cardero's view of the presidio of Monterey, 1791, which had changed but slightly when Quijano arrived to take up his post in 1807. Cardero was the artist who accompanied the expedition of Alejandro Malespina, a Spanish-sponsored round-the-world exploration and scientific venture.

A watercolor of Mission San Carlos Borromeo by William Smyth, 1827, two years after Quijano's death. The latter was buried in the mission cemetery. Smyth served as artist on H.M.S. Blossom, Captain Frederick Beechy, which visited Monterey for five days in the winter of 1827-1828.

the report of Benites and this reply should be forwarded to the Illustrious Diocesan [the Bishop of Sonora].⁶

The Royal Medical Board did review the communications of Benites and of the Fiscal and made their own report on May 10, 1805. This document is almost precisely the same length as that of the Fiscal. Pertinent portions include:

No method can be devised which can spare the inhabitants to the diseases which they suffer since the latter are due to inevitable causes and voluntary indiscretion; to the first belong the extreme cold, the lack of shelter, the bad water, lack of vegetables and badly prepared meats; to the others belong carnal promiscuity, the mingling with infected persons, and the natural slovenliness of a people as yet little civilized, and who, in case of sickness despise rational medicines and use only the empirical treatment dispensed by their national doctors, each of which has knowledge only through his own experiences.

The Royal Medical Board handled the matter of an infirmary in this fashion:

There is no doubt that the establishment of an infirmary, into which the patients might be gathered, would facilitate their normal convalescence and be of the greatest assistance to Benites, but in addition to the difficulty pointed out by the Fiscal concerning its construction there is that of being able to get hold of the sick persons on account of the aversion they hold to such asylums. And, furthermore, there is the matter of accessory expenses such as arise in hospitals. . . .⁷

The viceroy apparently felt that some action was indeed necessary and particularly because he himself had originally requested the medical report. Consequently, he did refer the problem to the Bishop of Sonora whose jurisdiction included California. On September 26, 1805, the Bishop wrote Fr. Estevan Tapis, the President of the Missions. This letter is quoted in its entirety.

The paternal zeal of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy of New Spain as a consequence of the account given him by the Surgeon of the Presidio, of Monterey, Don Jose Maria Benites, concerning the diseases which predominate in the New Californias has caused him to charge me to adopt those necessary measures which will aid in the alleviation of the patients, and in accord with the above mentioned account, never doubting that attention to humanity, and the exercise of apostolic charity

stipend" (Benites) had been sent to upper California.⁵

The Keeper of the Treasury then suggested that the report, and his opinion of it, be sent to the Royal Medical Board for their recommendations which would in turn be forwarded to Benites, and that the doctor might then go to visit the missions and the presidios of San Diego and that of the Channel (Santa Barbara).

The Fiscal flatly turned down the request for a hospital room at Monterey and did so in a manner strangely modern:

Although the critical and pressing conditions of the exchequer does not permit the establishment of a room or hospital as proposed by Benites, the emergency seems to the Fiscal adequate to warrant that Your Excellency be pleased to order that when the Royal Medical Board has prepared its report,

DISERTACION
FÍSICO-MÉDICA,
EN LA QUAL
SE PRESCRIBE UN MÉTODO SEGURO
PARA PRESERVAR A LOS PUEBLOS
DE VIRUELAS

HASTA LOGRAR LA COMPLETA EXTINCION
DE ELLAS EN TODO EL REYNO.

.SU AUTOR

D. FRANCISCO GIL,
CIRUJANO DEL REAL MONASTERIO DE S. LO-
RENZO Y SU SITIO , É INDIVIDUO DE LA
REAL ACADEMIA MÉDICA DE MADRID.



MADRID MDCCLXXXIV.

POR D. JOACHÏN IBARRA , IMPRESOR DE CAMARA DE S.M.
CON SUPERIOR PERMISO.

which characterizes your sacred institute, I transfer this charge to Your Paternalness with all its injunctions by which the pious intentions of the said Most Excellent Lord may be viewed as accomplished. God guard Your Paternalness for many years.

*Culiacan, September 26, 1805
Fr. Francisco, Bishop of Sonora**

Fr. Tapis followed through as is evident in a letter written by him on January 19, 1806. This, too, will be quoted in its entirety other than for the deletion of one

paragraph relating to a religious matter:

*San Carlos de Monterey
Viva Jesus*

*Reverend Fathers, Apostolic Presidents and
Ministers from Soledad to San Diego*

My esteemed Fathers and Sirs:

*By the attached copy and original communication of the
Most Illustrious Lord Bishop of Sonora Your Reverences will
be informed of the charge which his Most Illustrious Lordship
has laid on me; the which I not being able to personally*

One of the most important medical books brought to California prior to 1821, Dr. Francisco Gil's treatise on the physical and medical aspects of smallpox, published in Madrid, 1784, which discusses the technique of inoculation against the dread disease. Twenty copies were sent to Upper California in 1786, this being one of the known surviving copies. During Quijano's tenure of service in the province, the first smallpox vaccination was introduced.

accomplish I expect it shall be done by means of Your Reverences apportioning to the surgeon Don Jose Benites that help which depends on Your Reverences in order to complete the commission which by order of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy has been charged to him. I had determined to circulate the attached papers when the aforementioned surgeon undertook his journey; but the sudden departure of the said Senor frustrated my intentions, which occurred without my having any knowledge of it.

The Lord Governor arrived at this nearby Presidio on the 15th of this month; and he finds himself in good health, God be thanked. In continuation of the matter the evidence of having received this [your signatures] shall be placed on it; which along with the copy and original shall be returned to me from San Diego.

Our Lord God guard Your Reverences for many years in His Holy Grace.

Fr. Estevan Tapis⁹

One senses a bit of exasperation in Fr. Tapis' letter, and perhaps lack of cooperation between state and church, when he points out that Benites had departed without his being informed, and of course, the Presidio was "nearby."

Later evidence strongly indicates that Benites did not complete visits to the southern missions but went south only as far as San Luis Obispo. A later tour, to include La Purisima at Lompoc and all of the missions farther south, was to await the arrival of Manuel Quijano.

The position of post surgeon at Monterey was not an attractive one, this being attested to by the short time served by many of the incumbents. There was but little contact with colleagues and no opportunity for study or improvement. In spite of the tendency today to view the period as the golden age of California, there were few people of culture, or even who were literate, in the province.

Benites, like others before him, had been anxious to leave Monterey, and this even though he had been given a substantial increase in salary designed to keep him at his post.¹⁰ He consequently negotiated with Quijano, who was at San Blas, regarding the possibility of an exchange of locations. It is not readily apparent how the negotiations were carried out. Perhaps this was done through intermediaries or by written commu-

nication. It is possible, too, that they met in person in Monterey, a surgeon from the base at San Blas not infrequently accompanied a supply ship. Quijano, for reasons unknown, agreed to the exchange.

An undated communication from Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga states in part:

I have consented to the exchange requested by Don Jose Maria Benitez, permanent surgeon of New California, with the provisional surgeon of the Naval Base at San Blas, Don Manuel Quijano, with the understanding that the Chief of the base finds it convenient for improved service to health. The aforementioned Benitez must understand this and also be prepared to inform Quijano of it.¹¹

There is very little available information concerning Quijano's earlier life and education or even the date of his birth. Previous writers have uniformly reported him as a native of Spain, and one went further and wrote that he was born in Leon. It has been stated without supporting evidence, that he attended medical school at the University of Madrid and even that he graduated there in 1796.¹²

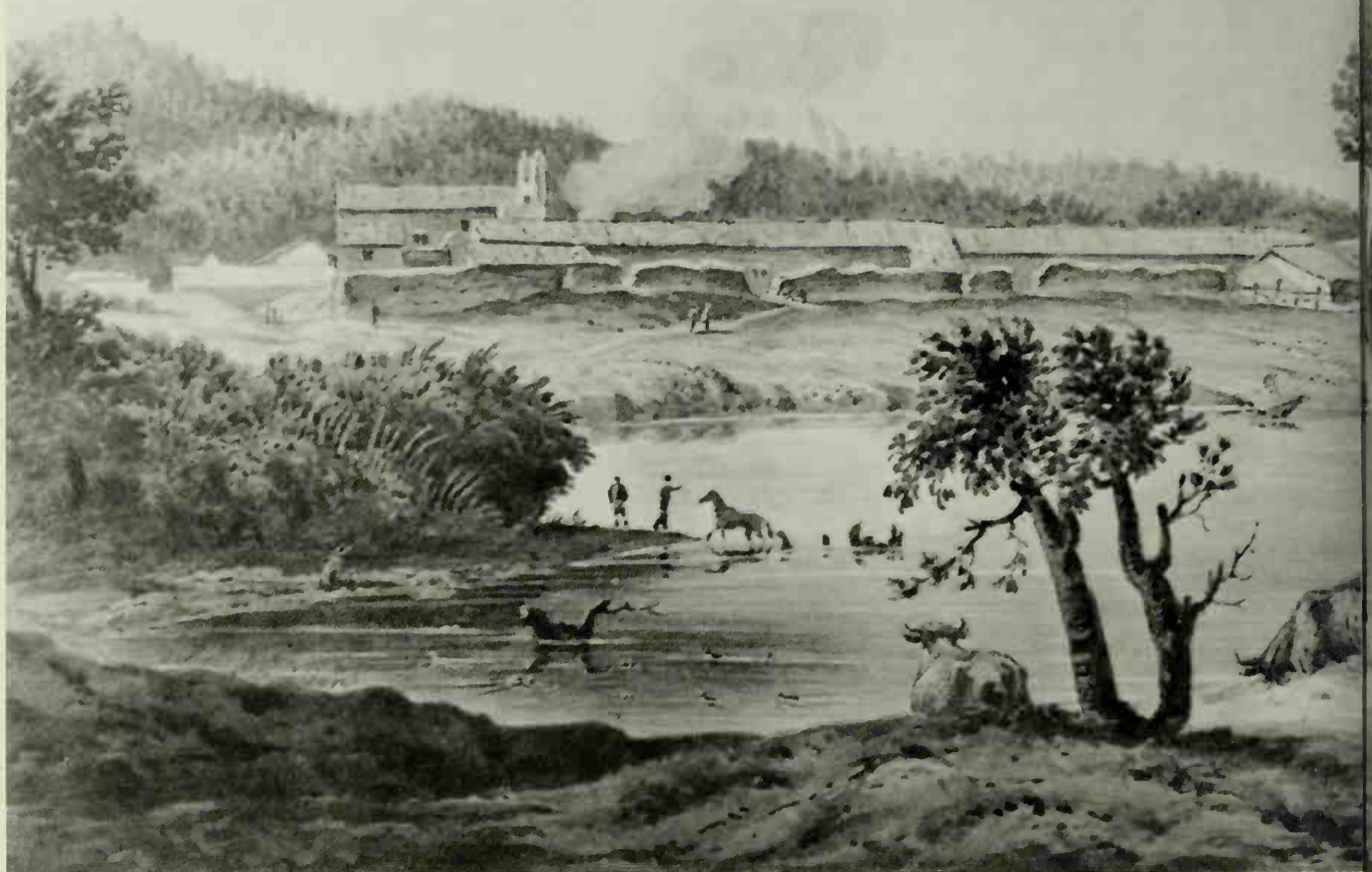
As the story develops we will see he was born in Mexico City and that he received his medical education in Mexico.

Quijano has been referred to as a "Capitan" in the Spanish army and also as an officer in the Spanish navy. The latter, for reasons already noted, seems much more probable. In addition he referred to himself as "Surgeon of the Naval Forces of San Blas."¹³

He was married to a lady with two daughters by a previous marriage, who had the impressive name of María Casilda Ponce de Leon y Davalos.¹⁴ Señora Quijano was born in Tepic, and the adjacency of this community to San Blas suggests a basis for her second marriage.¹⁵

Quijano, his wife and his two stepdaughters embarked at San Blas for Monterey on May 13, 1807.¹⁶ There is no available record of the date of arrival of the ship in Monterey although the voyage often required two months.

Actually the next record concerning Quijano is a letter written by Fr. Tapis and relating to the tour of the missions which was originally to have been undertaken by Benites. This translates as follows:



May 9, 1808 San Carlos de Monterey
Viva Jesus

Apostolics and Ministers from the Mision de la
Soledad to that of San Diego.

My esteemed Fathers and Sirs

At the disposition of the Lord Governor of the Province the surgeon Don Manuel Quijano goes to carry out the commission which by order of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy had been entrusted to Don Jose Maria Benites, concerning which I gave notice to Your Reverences in my circular of the 19th of January of 1806. According to what the Lord Governor has informed me, the said Senor Quijano should begin his patient visits and examinations of illnesses from La Purisima and following up to San Diego. On this assumption I charge the Reverend Father Ministers of the two named missions, and of those in between, that they give him whatever aid that their Reverences can, to the end that he be able to complete his commission.

In the same way I request all those missionaries from La Soledad to San Diego, that they aid the named Senor Quijano in all he may need from mission to mission. I am moved to direct to Your Reverences that this request be carried out with promptness, efficiency and charity while he endeavors to assist the Religious and also the neophytes [Indians] in their illnesses.

Placing [your signatures] below as having been received, it shall be returned to me from San Diego.

God Our Lord guard your Reverences for many years in His Holy grace.

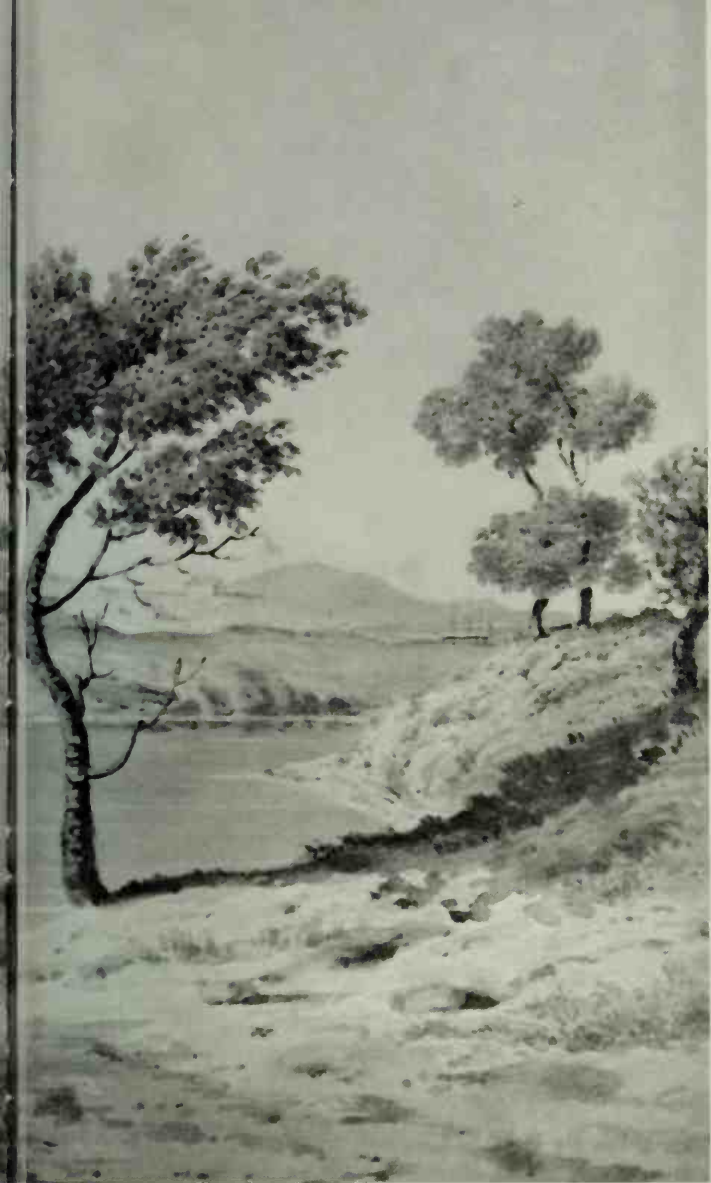
Mission San Carlos 9th of May, 1808

I kiss the hands of Your Reverences.

Your affectionate servant and least brother,

Fr. Estevan Tapis.

The Franciscan fathers in charge at each mission did sign Fr. Tapis' letter and also added the date on which Quijano arrived. The journey involved thirteen missions from Soledad, on May 13, 1808, to San Diego on



William Smyth's 1827 watercolor captures the presidio and near vicinity of Monterey two years after Quijano's death.

Most Excellent Lord

I submit to V. E. [Your Excellency] the attached memorial which was presented to me by the Surgeon of this Presidio, Don Manuel Quijano, with the accompanying certification, V. E. will thus be able to determine whatever would be to your Superior pleasure.

*God, our Lord impart life to V. E.
Monterey 27th of July 1808.*

*J. Arrillaga*¹⁸

The accompanying health certificate was signed by Luis Fernandez and Manuel Torres who described themselves as professors and surgeons of the naval base at San Blas. Nothing identifies Fernandez other than his own statement. Torres has been mentioned previously and, at the time of the certificate concerning Quijano's health, was again considering the position at Monterey.

The presence of these two men in Monte Rey (as written in the certificate) again emphasizes the fact that the naval surgeons of San Blas not infrequently accompanied ships and often provided medical services when on shore.

Fernandez and Torres certified that Quijano's problem was one of "an affection of the chest complicated by tuberculosis in the lungs," which incapacitated him from carrying out his duties in a post "which is cold and foggy," and "a warmer and more benign one" was suggested.¹⁹

The health certificate and Governor Arrillaga's letter of transmittal reached the viceroy, but no action was taken. Perhaps collusion and a conflict of interest among the involved physicians was suspected.

Failure on this occasion did not deter Quijano from further attempt to leave Monterey. An undated record refers to a possible "exchange of stations by the Surgeons of the Presidios of Alta and Baja California D. Man Quijano and Don Francisco Araujo."

His last documented effort in seeking transfer is addressed to the viceroy and is undated but most likely was written in 1809. In this instance a different approach is used than that purely of health. The document warrants quoting in its entirety:

Most Excellent Lord

Don Manual Quijano, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, examined and approved by the Royal Tribunal of the Proto

June 22nd of that year. The longest stay was at Santa Barbara where he arrived on May 30th and remained for one week, reaching San Buenaventura on June 7th, hardly more than one day's travel.¹⁷

Quijano's journey must have indeed been difficult and rigorous. Obviously there were no roads as such and often no dwelling house between missions where one might spend the night. It is improbable that Quijano in his role of naval surgeon was at home in the saddle.

There is no record of his return trip to Monterey, but return he did and completely disillusioned with his post. This journey, and others less lengthy, convinced him that he should not remain in Monterey, and he made a determined effort to be relieved of his assignment. Not long after Quijano returned from the tour of the missions Governor Arrillaga wrote to the viceroy:

Medicato of Mexico, presently stationed at the Royal Presidio of Monterey: With all due attention to the highest respect to V. E. states that not being able to point to his condition of health as proof, as the certificate evidently refutes, that it is his temperament which he supposes to be by nature weak which he believes causes him to be incapable of carrying out those charges relating to his work, since he has to visit annually all the Province, the Presidios as well as the missions, work which truly requires a sufficiently robust health. In this supposition and remembering the well-known kindness of V. E. which I know to be so abundant, that V. E. be disposed to grant that I be relieved from the aforementioned post so that Don Manuel Torres Tunon who is of my same class may be voluntarily posted from where he is now serving at the Naval Base at San Blas, and I can continue with merit at the former post which I had with the ships of San Blas.²⁰

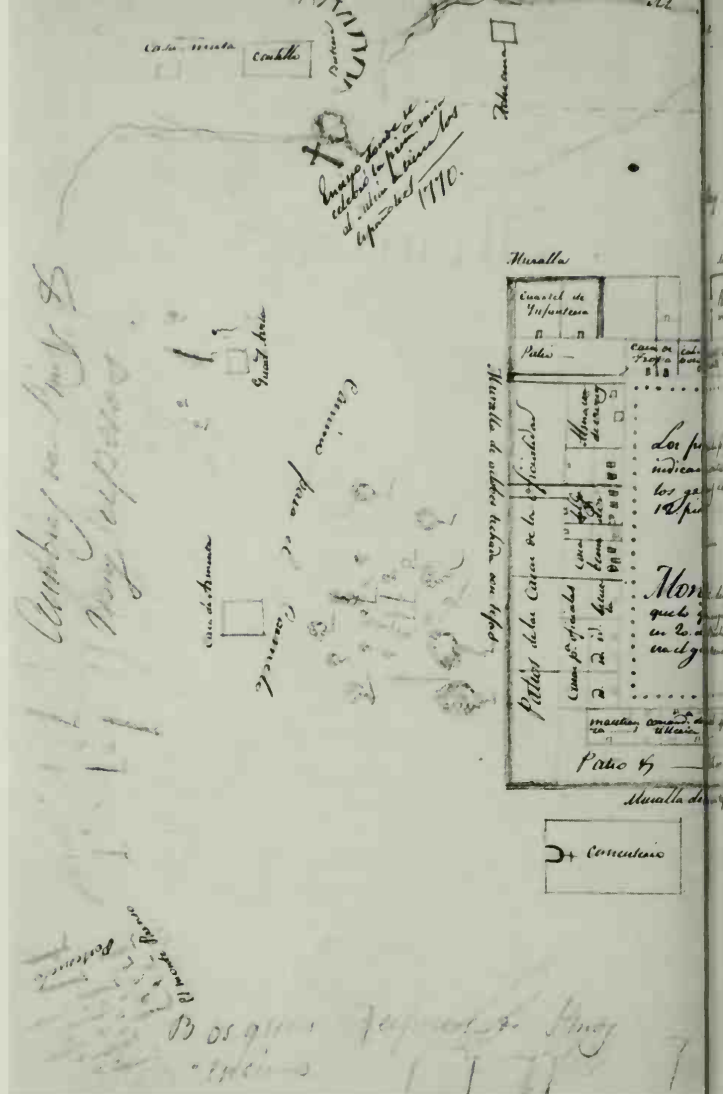
Even Quijano's flattery was unavailing, and he remained at Monterey, apparently resigned to his situation and learning to adapt.

His reference to his professional level in the letter to the viceroy is of interest. One may discount the Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, as it is highly improbable that he had actually taught these subjects. Professor was a status symbol and in most societies of the time of more import than the title doctor. Recall that Fernandez and Torres referred to themselves as professors.

Quijano's statement that he had been examined and approved by the Royal Tribunal of the Proto Medicato of Mexico is an entirely different matter. The Proto-medicato were the royal physicians who, amongst other duties, examined aspiring physicians much in the fashion of our state and national licensing boards today.

It is unlikely that Quijano would make this statement if it were not true, and it strongly emphasizes the probability that whatever medical education he had was obtained in Mexico. The Royal Physicians in Spain would have been responsible for his examination and approval had he been educated there.

Quijano's early years in Monterey were marked by another and equally unsuccessful problem with the bureaucracy of New Spain. The matter was initiated by a letter to the viceroy written on April 25, 1809 and was continued by a variety of governmental deliberations, communications and avoid-



ances of responsibility for over seven years. The letter to the viceroy reads:

Don Manuel Quijano, Physician Surgeon of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, with all the appropriate and highest respect due to V. E. states: That having passed from the Department of San Blas to this post by an exchange which he made with one of his same class Don Jose Maria Benites, the allowances have not been paid which corresponded to his wife and two daughters from the 13th day of May 1807 when they embarked for this post, therefore he beseeches the High Superiority of V. E. that he command that the said allowances be paid to me. Thus I wait to receive it from the kind and loving heart of V. E.

Manuel Quijano

The letter was accompanied by a note of transmittal from Governor Arillaga dated April 27th. This, in turn, was marked as received and the information given to the Royal Tribunal of Accounting in Mexico City on July 13, 1809. The time from writing to receipt was really quite commendable. Approximately two and one-half



A map of the Monterey presidio, depicting the establishment in 1820, found in the papers of Edward Vischer.

that Alta California was a continuation of the peninsula of Baja California. Conceivably the appellation was used at the time for both Californias. More probably the viceroy misspoke.

Ferdinand VII succeeded to the Spanish throne on March 17, 1808, following the forced abdication of his father Charles IV. Shortly thereafter Ferdinand was taken prisoner by Napoleon and was not released until 1814. News of the King's imprisonment reached Monterey in due course, and an appropriate ceremony was performed on August 10, 1809.

1809 August 10, Monterey

Jose Mariano Estrada, Alferez of the Company of Monterey

I certify that on this day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon in the hall of this mission, there being present the Rev. Father President of the missions Fr. Estevan Tapis, the illustrious R. Rev. Fathers Fr. Juan Amoros and Fr. Vicente Sarria, the Surgeon of the Royal Navy, Don Manl. Quixano, and the cadet Don Jose Raymundo Estrada, the Lord Governor of this Province Lt. Colonel Don Jose Joaquin de Arillaga, with one hand on the Holy Gospels and the other on the cross of his sword, kneeling on his knees before a crucifix, made his oath of allegiance in the following terms.

"I swear before the crucified Lord, touching these Holy Gospels, and the Cross of my sword, to obey our King and natural Lord Don Fernando VII, and to defend all the rights of his dynasty and this kingdom of the Indies which are his; and in like manner I will obey, comply with, and execute the orders of the Supreme Governing Council, as depository of the rights of our August Sovereign, obliging myself to shed up to the last drop of my blood in the defense and preservation of these dominions. And to bear witness wherever necessary. I affirm with this signature all of the above cited testimony."²³

The basically religious nature of the oath-taking is evident in that the ceremony was performed in the mission rather than in the less stately and significant presidio chapel. All three San Carlos priests served as witnesses, including, as noted, Fr. Estevan Tapis, the President of the Missions. The other witnesses were of local distinction. José Mariano Estrada was Alferez (Lieutenant or Ensign) and ranking officer of the Monterey Company. His brother, José Raymundo Estrada, was a cadet in that company, and Manuel Quijano, in spite of his problems, remained a citizen of distinction

months was all that elapsed from Monterey to San Blas to Mexico City, and this presuming the letter left Monterey on the date signed and was not delayed at San Blas.²¹

Ultimately, on November 6, 1816, the viceroy refused Quijano's request, stating:

In today's decree, in conformance with the Lord Fiscal of the Royal Treasury I have refused the request which was submitted in the year 1809 by the surgeon of the contingent of that Presidio Don Manuel Quijano claiming a debt for the Naval Allowances corresponding to his wife and two daughters for the time spent on board while being transported from San Blas to the Peninsula due to the fact that the trip was beneficial to him in order to accomplish the exchange that this Quijano arranged with the surgeon Don Jose Maria Benites.²²

On the same date a communication was sent to Governor Arrillaga stating that he was empowered to deny the application of Manuel Quijano for reimbursement.

One may note the viceroy's reference to Alta California as a peninsula. Certainly it was no longer believed

Another watercolor by William Smyth depicting Monterey in 1827.

and education.

A fascinating record of one of Quijano's medical functions is also a commentary on the pharmacy of the period. It is dated February 22, 1810 and is signed at Monterey by Manuel Quijano and countersigned by Governor Arillaga, each signature with its individual identifying rubric. The document is headed: "Report of the medicines requested from Mexico by the Surgeon of the Company of the Presidio of Monterey Don Manuel Quixano submitted by the Lord Governor of the Province, Don Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga for the year 1811."²⁴ Appended is a list of eleven pharmaceutical items relating to the therapy of the time. A number of these can be identified and their use speculated upon.

One item is a theriaca. These preparations, usually made up of many different ingredients, were used as antidotes for poisoning, actual or suspected.

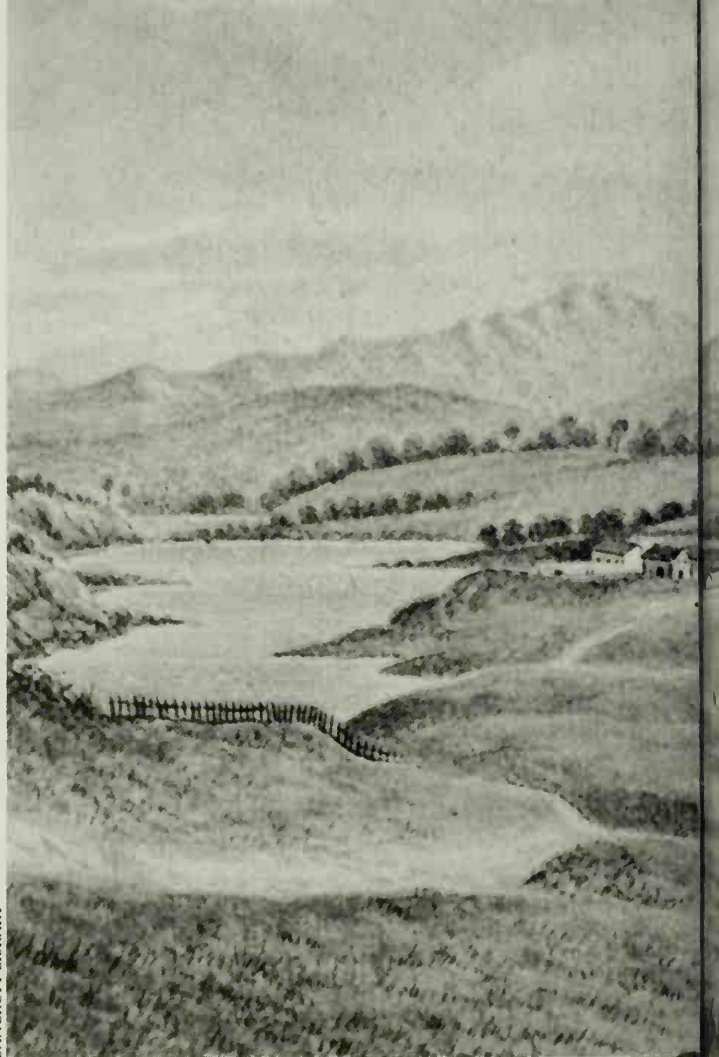
A medicine of particular interest is "Laudanum Liquido de Sidenham." This translates as Sydenham's laudanum. Laudanum is tincture of opium and was a standard preparation often compounded with one or more additives, in this case saffron, hardly in itself of any therapeutic value. Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) was a famous physician often referred to as the English Hippocrates.

No doubt Quijano used laudanum as an analgesic, but it is probable that he employed it chiefly in dysentery. This affliction, as reported by Benites, abounded in California.

One item listed translates as carminative spirits. A carminative is an agent or mixture which relieves flatulence or colic. This would have been very helpful considering the dietary of the Californians. Alcohol as a vehicle likely added to the efficacy in the same fashion that it does as the only active ingredient in a number of modern patent medicines.

"Espiritus de Sal Ammoniaco" is on the list. This translates simply as smelling salts. It is possible there were ladies with "the vapors" in California but more probable that Quijano used the spirits of ammonia in cases of concussion or in aiding recovery from repair of injury or other preanaesthetic surgery.

Two ointments are listed. Neither is presently identifiable. Then, as now, these items were used for burns,



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skin afflictions and wound dressings. There is also a request for a "Bolsama" (balsam) which cannot be more specifically identified. Balsams were used in dressing indolent wounds and ulcers and occasionally were taken internally in bronchial problems.

Maria Antonia Field (1885-1962) was the great granddaughter of Catalina de Munras, one of Quijano's stepdaughters. Lady Field (she received the Order of Isabella Catolica from the Spanish Crown) states that Manuel Quijano and his wife had two legitimate daughters who died in a diphtheria epidemic in 1812.²⁵ In contradiction Lady Field gave the date of these little girls' deaths as November 13, 1810 on a marker which she had placed in the floor of the Presidio Chapel in Monterey. This memorial lists the children's names as María Rosalia and María Teresa.

The present investigation finds a burial service for only one little girl, and this conducted for Rosalia María Juquina Quijano by Fr. José Sanchez on November 14, 1810. She is described as the legitimate offspring of Don Manuel Quijano, surgeon of the Presidio and native of



Mexico and Doña María Ponce de Leon native of the pueblo of Tepic.²⁶

Rosalía María was little more than a baby and was not yet born when the family came to Monterey. How Quijano and his wife must have mourned.

And if this were not enough grief for Quijano, his wife died a few years after the loss of their little girl. There is only limited information of any kind pertaining to Doña Quijano and none whatever relating to the cause of her death. Burial record 2082 for the year 1814, signed by Fr. Vicente Oliva February 21, details only the services for Doña María Ponce de Leon. She is described as an adult female born in Tepic, New Spain and married to Don Manuel Quijano, surgeon of the Presidio and native of the City of Mexico.²⁷ Her death was not sudden inasmuch as she had received the Holy Sacraments of Penance and of Extreme Unction and also had been given Communion.

Quijano's unhappiness was certainly not lessened by the death of Governor Arrillaga on July 24, 1814. The governor, sixty-four years of age, had been on a tour of inspection and died at Soledad, the first mission

south of San Carlos. The cause of the governor's death was an "intestinal hemorrhage."²⁸ One should first consider carcinoma of the colon as the cause and particularly so in Arrillaga's age group. Quijano served as an executor of Arrillaga's estate.

One of the most sensational events in Alta California was the murder of Fray Andrés Quintana. Much has been written concerning it as well as Manuel Quijano's involvement in the solution, or lack of solution, of the mystery. Unfortunately almost all available information is second or third hand and based on hearsay or surmise. In addition much of the purported facts are slanted by the feelings of the writer. One might even say there is some suggestion of coverup. Certainly there is evidence of the usual bureaucratic fumbling.

Basically the story is this. Fr. Andrés Quintana served at Mission Santa Cruz north of Monterey, and was recovering from illness when, on the morning of October 12, 1812, he was found dead in bed. Death appeared to be from natural causes, foul play was not suspected,

A view of the port of Monterey adapted from a Smyth watercolor by engraver Charles Raisonnette for Eugene Duflot de Mofras' Exploration due territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies . . . (Paris, 1844).

and the body was interred. Suspicions were aroused later (likely a matter of days, although one account states two years) and it was arranged for Manuel Quijano to examine the body.

This Quijano did, and he is consequently credited with performing the first autopsy in California. This "autopsy" likely consisted only of an inspection of the body which, with Quijano's background, was probably quite thorough. There is no written report of his findings. At least one account states that he confirmed the death as natural, and that the true cause was not determined until much later.

It does seem to be established that Fr. Quintana was tortured *in pudendis* (involving the genitalia). It is unbelievable that Quijano's examination of the body would not have disclosed this.

It is also improbable that the trauma to the genitals was the immediate cause of death. Hemorrhage, if fatal, would have been massive and immediately discernible. Conceivably shock could have killed, but this is unlikely in a robust male of Quintana's age. An able Franciscan historian reported an earlier statement that the priest was suffocated as well as tortured.²⁹

It may be that the nature of the torture weighed against documentation at the time, and it is possible, too, that it did not seem wise to publicize an assault by Indians on a missionary.

It was said to be determined that an Indian or Indians had lured Quintana from the mission on the premise of attending a dying neophyte. The reason later suggested for the murder was the priest had been brutal in punishing Indians, and one writer even suggested that Quintana had had carnal relations with the wife of one of the Indians who tortured him.

Several Indians (how many is not certain) were subsequently jailed. The matter was referred to the viceroy for determination. Some Indians died in prison during the two-year period in which they awaited sentence. It is improbable that any of the others survived "two hundred lashes each and then working in chains for from two to ten years."³⁰

Nothing more is evident suggesting Quijano's dissatisfaction with his post or his desire to leave it, and there is ample evidence that his work was as arduous and required as much traveling



as it ever had. Thirteen records relating to him are on file in a major historical depository in California.³¹ These are letters from missionaries, usually to the governor, requesting the help of Don Manuel, commenting on his visit, or expressing thanks for his services. The communications extend over the period of 1811 to 1821. The missions involved are Santa Cruz, Soledad, San Miguel, San Juan Bautista, Purisima, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura and San Fernando. One should bear in mind, too, that there assuredly were many other visits which are not documented or for which the records have been lost.

Several of the letters contain information of interest other than that relating to the surgeon. On March 25, 1811, the governor was importuned to send Don Manuel Quijano and to do so as quickly as possible. A postscript added, "If the Surgeon cannot come, at least let it be the Master Castillo."

José Castillo was a phlebotomist or bleeder who had come to the Monterey garrison in that capacity in 1792 and who remained at his post for thirty-six years.³² Drawing blood from a patient had been a standard



form of therapy, and one often abused, since antiquity. Fortunately, by the early nineteenth century it was being discarded in more cosmopolitan medical areas, but it continued to be very popular and widely used in early California. No doubt, too, Castillo had developed some of the other skills of a healer and did not employ venesection entirely.

Quijano was becoming appreciated and well liked. On July 31, 1815, Fray Antonio Jayme at Mission Soledad referred to him as "my well-loved savant and friend."

Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarria was commissary prefect of the missions, a position of import, and was on a canonical visit when he wrote Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola from Mission San Miguel on September 25, 1816. Sarria noted that he had received a letter from the governor from the "Señor Facultative Physician Don Manuel Quijano," who had left that morning on his way to Purisima and San Buenaventura. Sarria's letter to the governor also delicately brought up the age-old problem of single men in barracks. He stated that Luís Martínez (at Mission San Luis Obispo) wishes him to plead with Your Mercy (the governor) to order that

some of the soldiers of Martínez escort be transferred because it appears that it is "entirely composed of old bachelors with all of the problems inherent in that situation."

On November 9, 1816, Fr. José Señan wrote Governor Sola from Mission Buenaventura, "Don Manuel is deserving all my gratitude because with all good will he persisted in the re-establishment of my health. May God repay him and also my Lord Governor."

Fray Francisco Jayme wrote the governor from Soledad on May 23, 1817. The unhappy letter depicts not only his need for Quijano but his own pursuit of his duties regardless of extreme handicap:

My beloved Master, the pain still follows me, God's will be done, I now write to Don Manuel of the state of health in which I find myself, and on Saturday I will send a vaquero with horses so he will come here if he can with your permission to see if he can heal me, for I am unable to walk. My heart goes out to those who are also sick since night before last they had to carry me to confess and anoint a woman who had just given birth to a child and who died.



Fray Jayme improved promptly under Quijano's ministrations. He again wrote the governor on May 31st:

Don Manuel has purged me so well that I have improved quite a bit, such that yesterday I was able to recite Mass since it had been 29 days that I was not able to say it. For this reason Don Manuel did not depart yesterday in order to see me recite Mass for which I gave a thousand million thanks in the Majorcan manner.

Vaccination against smallpox was in worldwide use within a few years following publication of Edward Jenner's milestone in 1798. The first vaccination in California is reported to have been in 1817 when some lymph (vaccine) was brought to Monterey by José Verdía.³³ Quijano is said to have assisted him in the vaccination of a large number of persons including the entire Vallejo family.³⁴ This earliest use of vaccine in California, and Quijano's participation, is not corroborated elsewhere.

Two earlier writers, without any apparent foundation, state that Quijano died in 1825.³⁵ This was ques-

tioned later.³⁶ It has now been confirmed that he died in 1823.

One can easily speculate on the nature of the pathological process which led to his death. Certainly it was not an acute one in that he dictated a sort of last will on July 29, 1823 and did not expire until August 16th. Perhaps he really had chronic pulmonary disease as had been attested to by Fernandez and Torres. More probably he suffered from the degenerative diseases of an aging man who had lived a rigorous life at a time of lesser life expectancy.

His condition is made quite evident in the last sentence of the document of July 29, 1823. "And this being my wish, not being able to write down my signature and rubric due to the present indisposition in which I find myself, I make the Holy Cross." Much of the writing is difficult to read and interpret, possibly relating in part to the ability of the scribe, but more likely to Quijano's state of health.

The opening sentence emphasizes that his military affiliation was with the navy: "In the room of my habitation on the 29th of July of 1823, I, Don Manuel de



Mission San Carlos Borromeo, better known as Mission Carmel, captured in its decaying state (date unknown; c.1880s?) by photographer George Fiske.

who was at the said Presidio 18 or 19 years. I administered the Holy Sacraments of Penitence, Eucharist and Extreme Unction. He had died on the previous day. And as witness I affirm.

Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarria³⁸

Quijano's stepdaughter Catalina Manzaneli married Estevan Munras, who became a man of import and substance in Monterey. Lady Field, mentioned previously, was their great granddaughter.

Two letters, written in 1849 and 1850, signed by Enrique C. Virmond, an attorney in Mexico City, addressed to Don Estevan Munras, show that, at that late date, the family was still attempting to recover money owed Quijano by the Mexican government. A third letter, dated July 27, 1853, was signed by the attorney's widow. Evidently, too, Munras had died in the interim because this letter is addressed to María Antonia Manzaneli and Catalina Manzaneli de Munras. Presumably María Antonia had never married.

The correspondence shows that the amount claimed by the heirs was 5,756.61 pesos. Available records do not suggest that this was paid.³⁹ CHS

Quijano, Surgeon of the Naval Forces of San Blas . . . "

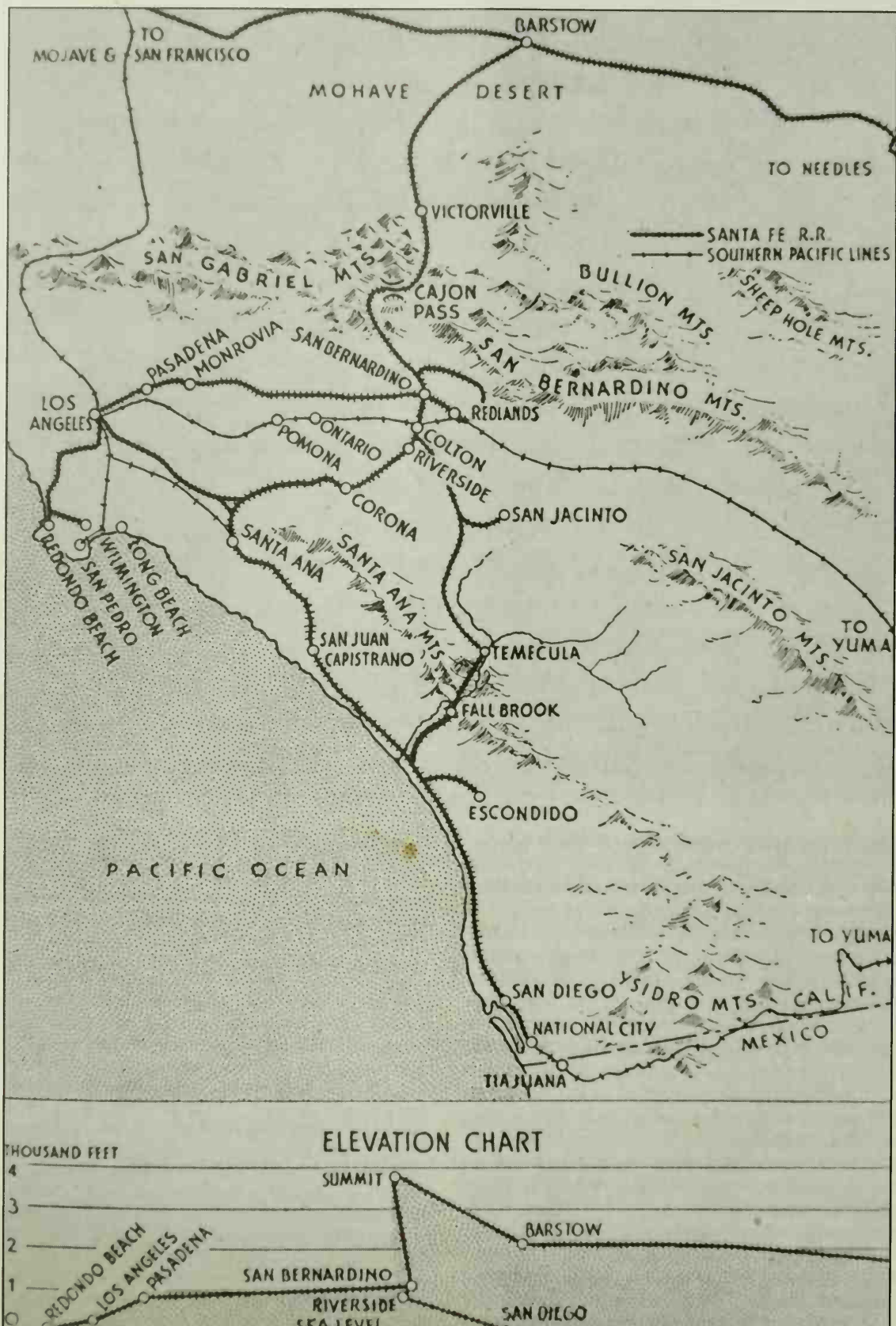
The body of the document confirms the fact that his interests now lie fully with Monterey and Alta California. Two items of fifty pesos each "out of the best of my goods" were to be paid to the Rev. Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarria "in order that they be invested in that which I have communicated to him." Quijano also requested that a sort of trust fund be set up: "Also when it shall come to pass that the claim of what is owed me from the King or the Nation is received I wish that 600 pesos in goods for the benefit of the Company and Presidio of Monterey be distributed under the mediation or direction of the Chaplain."³⁷

The debt of the King or the Nation refers to back pay from Spain or from newly independent Mexico and not to the long forgotten compensation for the travel of his wife and stepdaughters.

Burial record 2460 is captioned Don Manuel Quijano, adult of the Presidio.

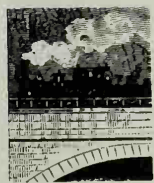
The 17th of August of 1823 in the Cemetery of the Chapel of the Presidio of Monterey, I gave Ecclesiastic Burial to the body of Don Manuel Quixano, native of Mexico, Surgeon

Dr. Doyce B. Nunis Jr., professor of history in the University of Southern California, Zamoranan and longtime friend, has again served as preceptor and helpful critic. Dr. Nunis also suggested communication with Dr. Mathes. Dr. W. Michael Mathes, professor of history in the University of San Francisco, and an authority on California history, was most considerate and helpful, not only in suggesting possible sources of information but in discounting certain others. Mr. Richard Joseph Menn, curator of the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del rio Carmelo took time out from a busy day to acquaint me with the mission archives and to provide certain duplicates. I am also indebted to him for my first visit to the Presidio Chapel and for a transcription of the memorial plaque in the floor of the church. The remarkable facilities of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library provided the numerous letters relating to Quijano's visits. Here again Doyce Nunis, president of the Board of Trustees of that library, was of assistance. The Pastoral Office of the Diocese of Monterey was exceedingly kind in providing burial and marriage records. Mr. James J. Ochoa, of the Los Angeles County Medical Association Library, translated most of the source documents which, in many instances, were almost illegible. Lastly, it should be noted that this essay was published in a limited edition of 250 copies as a keepsake for the 1984 joint meeting with the Roxburghe-Zamorano Clubs. It is reprinted herein with the permission of the author. See notes beginning on page 145.



OUTMANEUVERING THE OCTOPUS ATCHISON TOPEKA AND SANTA FE

Edward L. Lyman



IN NOVEMBER 1885, without much national attention, the first transcontinental railroad not controlled in California by Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington and their corporate associates was completed. This momentous event ushered in a passenger rate war that contributed significantly to the influx of population into Southern California and an economic boom which did much to establish the region as permanently important. Breaking the monopoly was no easy feat because Central-Southern Pacific Railroad had demonstrated firm determination to preclude any competition.

The struggle for a competing railroad to the Pacific Coast took place

on several fronts. The congressional committee rooms of Washington, D.C., were an important arena. Even before their transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, Huntington exhibited amazing foresight and resourcefulness by securing a congressional stipulation that the potential rival Atlantic and Pacific line be forced into an alliance through linking at the California border with the Southern Pacific, thus insuring continued control within the state. The financial centers of the East would later prove to be an equally important battleground. But the Southern California area where the competition would either be stimulated or stifled was just as crucial a scene of action.

One of the first real threats to the Stanford-Huntington empire was the Los Angeles and Independence (California) Railroad—owned by Nevada mining magnate and U.S. Senator John P. Jones. His plan was to build a rail line from Santa Monica

through Cajon Pass to the Jones-dominated Panamint mining camps, with the possibility of connecting with the Jay Gould-controlled Utah Southern at Milford, Utah, and thus Union Pacific Railroad's transcontinental outlets. In the early 1870s the Jones project began tunneling through the "hogback" ridge at the top of Cajon Pass, which earlier government surveys had reported to be the only possible way to utilize this geographic gateway to Southern California. At one point the Los Angeles and Independence construction crews faced the prospect of confrontation with Southern Pacific employees for possession of several crucial points in the pass, but being better prepared, the former forced the latter to withdraw. However, with the subsequent collapse of the Comstock financial structure in 1876, Jones was temporarily ruined. He had no alternative but to sell at a loss to Huntington, who thereby gained control of Cajon Pass.¹ Huntington and his

Map of southern California rival railroad systems during the years under discussion. From James Marshall, Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1945, p. 185).

Charles Crocker, Huntington's partner, whose lack of foresight may have been the key factor in failure to block the approach of the rival railroad line.

(Right) William Barstow Strong, tenth president of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, whose persistence was an important factor in breaking the railroad monopoly in California.

(Far right) Collis P. Huntington, the last active member of the "big four" builders of the Central-Southern Pacific Railroad system, who maintained almost total control of overland transportation into California from 1869 to 1884.



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colleagues thus triumphed, at least for the time being.

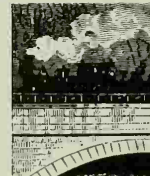
The railroad which would ultimately break the Southern Pacific monopoly was the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, founded in 1859. In the late 1870s under Thomas Nickerson and the early 1880s under William Barstow Strong, corporate leadership took the view that expansion was the only real means of countering the prevailing competition as other railroads threatened to move in on their Kansas domain. They gradually raised their corporate horizons from operating a regional, midwestern railway into building their own transcontinental line. The Santa Fe's impressive early financial record enabled it to successfully raise the necessary capital through stock and bond sales for the extensive con-

struction, primarily through the Boston firm of Kidder, Peabody and Company.

The main avenue for Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe's western expansion was through partial control of the land-grant-rich Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, which had succumbed to the widespread financial depression of the early 1870s. The Atlantic and Pacific had been partly revived through control by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company, which was also ambitious to reach the Pacific Coast. In 1879 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe acquired half interest in the Atlantic and Pacific line, aiming to use its right of way to reach California. The three allied companies subsequently commenced railway construction through New Mexico and Arizona.²

However, in 1881 Collis P. Huntington and his like-minded fellow railroad entrepreneur, Jay Gould, acquired sufficient stock in the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad to block expansion that might endanger their other respective inter-

ests. Controlling an equal number of votes as the Santa Fe, they took seats on the Atlantic and Pacific Board of Directors expressly for the purpose of "shaping its policy and limits of construction." Predictably they resolved to terminate track laying at the Colorado River and also cease further expansionist plans in Texas. Construction was allowed to continue across northern Arizona to the Colorado River, but at Needles further progress into California was stalled.³



MANY Southern California citizens wanted a competing railroad as fervently as the Atlantic and Pacific-Santa Fe corporate heads and their stockholders. Residents of several California cities, particularly San Diego and San Bernardino, had developed considerable animosity toward the Southern Pacific. San Bernardino had been bypassed in 1875 as the railroad rushed construction toward San

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Gorgonio Pass and Yuma to block threatened entrance of yet another rival, the Texas and Pacific. Thereafter the Southern Pacific offered to build a branch line into the city for a price. Local committees considered the possibilities but eventually hesitated to raise the sum requested until they saw more evidence of the sincerity of the railroad's intentions. Part of San Bernardino's hesitancy rose from its confidence that one of the several projected competing railroads would soon enter the city through Cajon Pass. When this did not occur, the older town had to stand by in frustration as a new rival, Colton, developed under the patronage of the Southern Pacific.⁴

San Diego had an even longer period of disappointment which bred deep resentment. With its excellent harbor, some half-dozen projected transcontinental railroad schemes had promised to connect San Diego with the rest of the nation, but none came to fruition. When Southern Pacific requested and was denied extensive bay-front properties, com-

pany official Charles Crocker allegedly threatened the city would never be allowed to obtain a railroad. After unsuccessfully attempting to interest several companies in building lines to San Diego, local landowner and real estate promoter, Frank Kimball, traveled to Boston and persuaded officials of the Atchafalaya, Topeka and Santa Fe to come west to investigate. Corporate directors George B. Wilbur and Lucius G. Pratt, along with locating engineer Ray Morley, traveled to Southern California to examine the possibilities and confer with local citizens interested in backing the project.⁵

San Bernardino townspeople, anxious for their city to be considered as a stopping place on the anticipated railroad, held a meeting at the county courthouse on October 20, 1879 and concluded to send County Surveyor Frederick T. Perris and local newspaper editor, John Isaacs, to San Diego to confer with the visiting Santa Fe officials. Despite some efforts by San Diego citizens to prevent such a meeting,

Perris and Isaacs contacted Wilbur and Pratt at the Horton Hotel and conferred for some hours. Impressed by the arguments and supportive information presented, the railroad men agreed to visit the San Bernardino area to consider its potential.⁶

Two weeks later, Perris and Isaacs met Wilbur, Pratt and Morley near Fallbrook and brought them by carriage to San Bernardino, which had assembled a make-shift chamber of commerce and county fair to display local products and prospects of the region. After escorting the visitors on a tour of area sights, Perris took them eastward through the San Gorgonio Pass. Perris may have seriously wished to show his guests the possibilities of a railroad route northward through the Morongo Valley, but he also knew they were being shadowed by agents of the rival Southern Pacific who had abandoned following when convinced the rival party was not investigating potential roadways they valued. Most observers credit Perris with outsmarting his rivals by taking the

Frederick T. Perris, master surveyor and unsung hero of several phases of the struggle for a competing railroad into southern California.

(Right) California Southern Railroad grade building crew, probably in San Diego County, c. 1881. There is some controversy as to whether the laborers are Mexican or Chinese—with more evidence in favor of the former.



STEELE PHOTO SERVICE, SAN BERNARDINO

easterners into the high desert by the circuitous route, circling back to the west by way of Old Woman Springs and Lucerne Valley to the upper Cajon Pass where they could survey Perris' proposed route unobserved. They reportedly camped in the tunnel which symbolized the previous futile attempt to break the Southern Pacific monopoly.⁷

On the visit to Cajon Pass, Fred Perris argued for a route heading northeastward transversing the badlands above the narrow canyon that others had assumed made a route through that side of the pass impossible. He was able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of veteran engineer Ray Morley that with several large, but feasible cuts, such a roadway was eminently practicable. This route would also bypass the points where Southern Pacific holdings were assumed to block rival use of what was deemed the best entry way into Southern California. Thus the Perris proposal was one of the decisive steps in making it possible to subsequently break the Southern

Pacific transportation stranglehold on the West Coast.⁸

Much to the disappointment of the San Diego backers, Morley reported the route northward through Cajon Pass to be the most feasible for Santa Fe interests. President Nickerson informed his San Diego associates that their preferred route directly east was so hot and dusty that it would never be popular with passengers and that some delay could be expected before a railroad reached their city. In desperation Frank Kimball made a second trip to Boston. This time he was not as well received. By offering further cash and land subsidies, he induced several members of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Board of Directors to help him organize a separate, though closely related company, the California Southern Railroad Company, committed to building a branch line from his city to join the main Santa Fe-Atlantic and Pacific line somewhere presumably north of Cajon Pass. Santa Fe president Nickerson resigned his office to pro-

mote the new company, incorporated in 1880. He was soon acting as president of the infant company, backed as was Santa Fe, by the Kidder, Peabody financial house, along with fellow Boston stockholders B.P. Cheney, G.B. Wilbur, and L.G. Pratt.⁹

The exact route for the northern portion of the new railroad had not yet been determined when Joseph Osgood arrived by steamer from San Francisco and established a company office at San Diego. Acting as chief engineer, Osgood began surveying, hiring construction gangs, and generally directing the beginnings of what was facetiously called the San Diego and Boston railroad. Since the fledgling road could expect no cooperation from existing railroads controlled by the Southern Pacific, all rails, rolling stock and other materials needed had to be imported by sea. Sailing vessels began to arrive at the newly completed company wharf at National City just south of San Diego in March 1881, when the British four-masted *Trafal-*



gar docked from Antwerp, Belgium, with the first shipment of rails. Thereafter numerous ships brought ties and lumber from the Pacific Northwest, locomotives and other rolling stock from the northeastern United States, and rails from Germany and Belgium.¹⁰

The route chosen was from the railroad's own waterfront yards at National City, on through San Diego and generally along the coastline all the way to present-day Oceanside. This necessitated building sixty bridges in forty miles. From Oceanside the roadway turned northeastward and climbed up through Temecula Canyon, where Osgood failed to heed the warnings of Frank Kimball and local residents that floodwaters were potentially treacherous. From Temecula the grade was easier northward over the San Jacinto plain toward the juncture at Colton with the Southern Pacific main line. The epoch story of this phase of railroad construction, completed in August 1882, has been well told elsewhere.¹¹

This accomplishment was also a springboard for an equally important beginning of railroad grading in Cajon Pass. In late May, newly-appointed locating engineer, Fred Perris, made a quiet night transfer of his crew of six hundred Chinese and Indian graders from the Pinate area, near where a town would soon be named after him, to the mountain slopes north of San Bernardino. This was done to secure actual possession of the "most favorable route" before Southern Pacific crews, reportedly surveying in the area, could lay further claim themselves. With additional local laborers and supplies promptly sent from San Bernardino, California Southern crews commenced work at five different Cajon Pass locations along the route Perris had proposed. Within a week Southern Pacific spokesmen were denying any interest in building a line through the disputed pass. It can only be assumed that the loss of interest was because they had been outmaneuvered.¹²

* If not interested in the construc-

tion of a railroad line through the pass themselves, Southern Pacific made the work of their rivals immeasurably more difficult through harassment and delay tactics. Several of the most ridiculous of these involved the actual crossing of the Southern Pacific main line at Colton. Upon direction from Perris, fellow California Southern engineer Ben Levet devised a crossing frog—an arrangement of steel track by which one line may cross another at grade. This was assembled at the National City railroad shops and was awaiting use when, in early August 1883, the San Bernardino County Sheriff sent Deputy Tom Brandt to seize the equipment on a spurious charge of indebtedness to Southern Pacific. But when the officer arrived, he talked too much of his purpose and while sleeping that night, Perris had the crossing frog loaded on a flatcar and transported to Colton.¹³

Perris and his immediate superior, Jacob Victor, had already secured a court order directing the Southern Pacific to permit California Southern

Santa Fe/California Southern Railroad survey crew, including party chief "Dad" Woods, seated, and transitmen, levelmen, rodmen, chainmen, and Chinese cook. Both boys were Fred T. Periss' grandsons.

(Right) Arrival of the first passenger train of the California Southern Railroad into San Bernardino, September 13, 1883. Fred T. Perris, locating engineer for the C.S.R.R. was at the throttle and whistle.



PERRIS/LEFFEN FAMILY

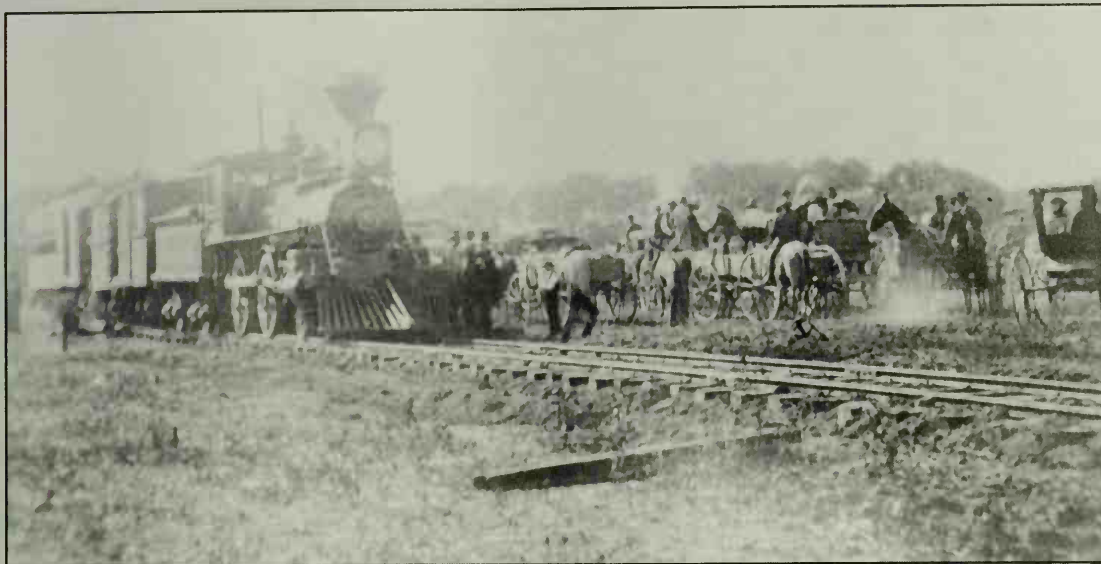
to make the crossing as desired, at a price considerably lower than what they had originally offered the older company for the right-of-way to cross their main east-west line. They requested Southern Pacific corporate manager, A.N. Towne, to designate a local company supervisor to work through in their operations, but had received no reply. On the morning chosen the California Southern telegraphed the Southern Pacific assistant superintendent at Los Angeles of their plans. After the through-bound Southern Pacific train passed, Victor mounted the track with a flag in hand, and the intention of supervising the removal of existing track to enable installation of the crossing frog. But just as the train had passed, nearby switchmen allowed several waiting Southern Pacific locomotives to steam from their sidetracks onto the main line. Though Victor waved frantically, the huge engines forced him to jump aside, and the engines steamed right to where the opposing crews intended to work. No amount of persuasion would move them.¹⁴

This created an explosive situation and several contemporary accounts agreed "bloodshed [was] expected." Some said that the gondola car contained from twenty to thirty railroad riflemen crouched just out of sight. Another reported one of the Earp brothers, of the notorious gunfighting family that resided in the area, had been hired with his personal arsenal to guard the trains. When the episode first began, someone in San Bernardino sounded the fire alarm and men quickly appeared from all directions. Officials there organized an armed posse which waited anxiously for court permission to forcibly clear the tracks of Southern Pacific opponents.¹⁵

The San Bernardino *Times* observed that it would have been foolhardy for the Southern Pacific to continue the obstruction tactics since such conduct would likely further arouse the people of San Bernardino, "who would rise *en masse* and protect the operation of the California Southern." The biased editor warned that "the temper of the

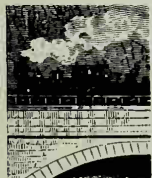
people must not be trifled with in the matter and we would warn the Southern Pacific authorities not to rely too much on its [*sic*] own power of might." The San Bernardino *Index* agreed, reporting that "the indignation of our citizens over the outrage is intense."¹⁶

Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. Victor confided to Nickerson, "it was only by the greatest caution riot was prevented and there would certainly have been blood shed." He concluded that "it was advisable to work peaceably if possible." California Southern officials on the scene discovered Southern Pacific had a technical right to insist on ten days legal notice of the intention to cross the right of way. Although it would cost them several days further delay, Victor concluded it best to wait. Word soon arrived from Southern Pacific headquarters to "fix things up," and thereafter, relieved California Southern officials in the East were informed that the rival company not only "removed all obstructions" but actually lent assistance



to get the crossing frog properly installed. Victor reported all material necessary to complete the extension to San Bernardino, seized earlier by Southern Pacific, had also been released.¹⁷

San Bernardino had pledged a cash subsidy of \$20,000 and rights of way had been cleared for the tracks and depot. Perris and his crews had already done much of the grading and some construction work so it took only a few weeks to complete the remaining four miles to San Bernardino. On September 8, 1883, Victor and Perris brought a gaily decorated, "madly whistling" California Southern train into the new railroad terminus, touching off a jubilant celebration.¹⁸



SOUTHERN Pacific had attempted to block the crossing any way it could. However, the methods that had often worked so effectively elsewhere were not nearly so successful in this

instance, perhaps because of the universal hostility previously engendered among the populace by earlier Southern Pacific tactics. The California Southern had resorted to the local courts to condemn a right of way while Southern Pacific attorneys utilized a wide array of delaying legal maneuvers to keep the matter stalled in litigation for almost a year. But besides the preponderance of precedents from other such conflicts, the California Southern probably had an added advantage in that the presiding Superior Court Judge Horace C. Rolfe was a boyhood associate of chief engineer Perris, from days when both were Mormon youths in the area. Rolfe's final court decision was fully supportive of the California Southern position.¹⁹

After these important hurdles were overcome, local citizens were naturally anxious for continued progress in the form of resumed railroad construction activity in Cajon Pass. When Victor returned to supervise erection of the San Bernardino depot and other buildings, he ex-

pressed public regret that further railway construction was then improbable. He explained that the California Southern was prepared to fulfill its commitments to build the extension necessary to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, but the latter railroad was yet undecided in its intentions. California Southern management thought that it would be "foolhardy" to build farther until they received something more definite from the associated Atlantic and Pacific company.²⁰

Having blocked the Atlantic and Pacific-Santa Fe Railroad expansion at Needles on the California boundary, Southern Pacific bridged the desert gap from there to Mojave with a branch line which connected to its main road from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Prior to completion of this in August 1883, Collis P. Huntington and Santa Fe Vice President A.E. Touzalin negotiated a contract for cooperation and joint use of this new Mojave branch and other portions of Southern Pacific tracks which, in



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a roundabout way through Soledad Canyon, the San Fernando Valley, Los Angeles and eastward to Colton, enabled Santa Fe to connect with her infant sister, the California Southern, to reach San Diego and the Pacific Coast. However, as one careful observer noted, this agreement "meant substantially nothing" to Santa Fe interests because Southern Pacific operators carefully redirected all possible freight traffic by other routes they controlled—either north through Ogden, Utah or south through Yuma, Arizona. Touzalin protested the interpretation Huntington had made allowing Southern Pacific officials Charles Crocker and A.N. Towne to redirect traffic contrary to the previous negotiations. He described the Californians' treatment as reflecting an attitude that Santa Fe could only be "a corporation in the last stages of decrepitude." William B. Strong, Santa Fe president, also became increasingly dissatisfied with the joint use arrangement. He appealed to Huntington for assurance that suf-

ficient overland traffic be allocated to his interests to make operation of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad financially profitable. He indicated that if conditions did not improve, his company would be compelled to build an independent parallel railroad to the Pacific Coast.²¹

Although there are indications that Huntington was inclined to be more equitable, his western associate, Crocker, was opposed and no concessions were forthcoming. Crocker was Huntington's closest associate from the surviving Central Pacific partners. Increasingly pessimistic about the railroad business in general, Crocker was specifically opposed to further arrangements with the Santa Fe-Atlantic and Pacific companies. In fact, he believed the rival corporation faced imminent bankruptcy and affirmed total lack of inclination to lend any assistance, though he was perfectly willing to sell the Mojave to Needles branch of Southern Pacific as a move that might prove the ultimate factor in discouraging the Santa Fe into

totally withdrawing from the disputed area.²²

This same attitude was reflected in Crocker's assessment of the closely associated California Southern Railroad. In the fall of 1883 when partner Huntington showed considerable interest in purchasing the small road, even "as a dead rental to keep the Atchison out of Southern California," he could get no support from his corporate associate. Crocker's reply was that if Southern Pacific were to become involved with the increasingly troubled California Southern, "the odium of nonfulfillment" of commitments the infant company was being blamed for would fall upon them as well. Crocker coldly suggested that the only way for the little railroad to "get out of the scrape they were in" was to dismantle their tracks and sell their materials for whatever they could get.²³

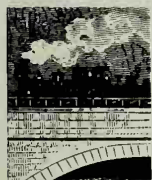
Crocker's opinions of the rival companies and the general failure to consider more seriously Huntington's proposals was one of the



(Left) San Bernardino Depot a year after it was built in 1886 by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Upstairs contained offices of telegraphers, dispatchers and superintendent; the downstairs included a baggage room, ticket office, waiting room, and the Fred Harvey Dining Room. The building was destroyed by fire in 1916.

The great cut at the summit of Cajon Pass, enabling maintenance of a grade of 3%. Rain-water chutes constructed to prevent repeated mud slides.

greatest blunders ever made by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Later, as Huntington's nephew and new California associate, Henry E. Huntington, was surveying the situation, he observed, "it looks to me as though our people had been very remiss in allowing the Santa Fe to get the great advantage they have over us" in much of Southern California. His uncle replied, admitting that they had "lain still and let good territory be taken away from [them] when [they] could have prevented it as well as not."²⁴



WITHOUT MUCH corporate support in California, Collis P. Huntington was soon to face even greater challenges in the

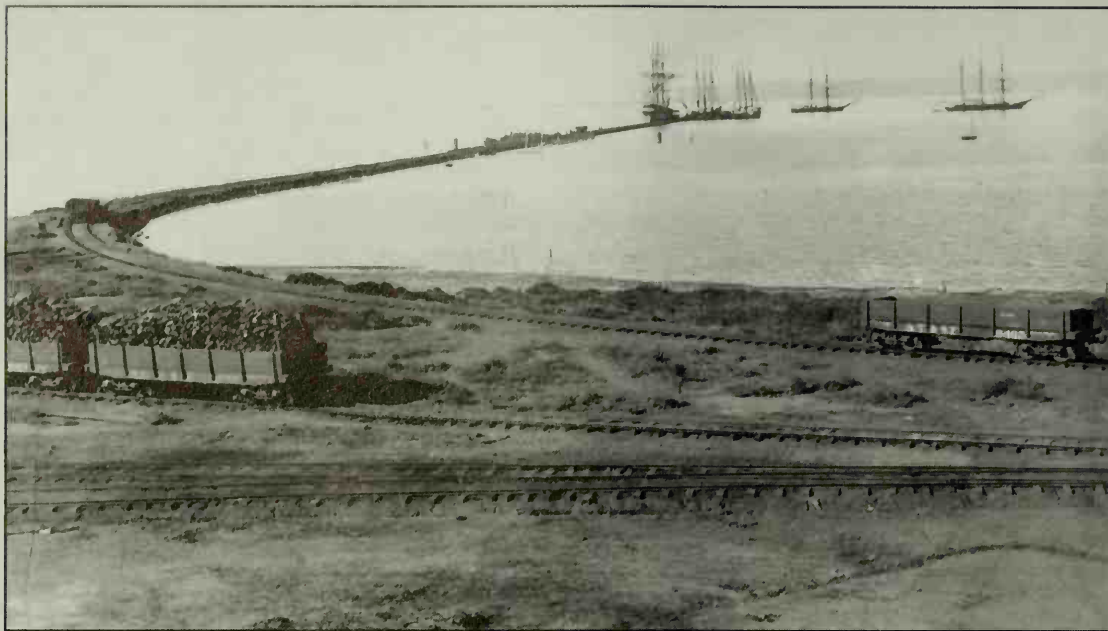
East. These, too, proved to be a major stroke of good fortune for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Just as the company was experiencing severe disappointments over joint use of the Mojave branch of the Southern Pacific, in August

1883, Jay Gould was quietly expressing similar disenchantment with his equally manipulative and self-seeking partner, Huntington. Gould wrote to the New York brokerage house of Seligman Brothers to complain that his interests had not been protected as the original purchase contract of St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad stock had stipulated. He claimed that since such considerations were the primary reason for his acquisition, he demanded a recision of the agreement and promptly returned the stock in his possession.²⁵

Early in 1884 this situation was made public when *Railway Age*, a reliable authority on railroad business affairs, reported that the Seligman Brothers would soon cease the arrangement by which Gould and Huntington had partially controlled the "Frisco" railroad and through it the Atlantic and Pacific. It was announced that the Seligman interests were "now in full accord with the direction and aims of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe," which meant

that if that company wished to press for an independent line to the Pacific Coast, there would be no corporate opposition to it.²⁶

Collis P. Huntington may have doggedly resisted for a few more months the increasing pressures to invade his California domain, but one contemporary reporter observed that in 1884 the "quiet struggle of giants which had been going on for several years" was gradually turning in favor of William B. Strong and the Santa Fe Railroad. The final catalyst in this transition of power was the financial crisis of the summer of 1884, which Huntington later ranked among the three worst he had weathered in his long career. Severely pressed for liquid assets to meet semi-annual corporate bond payments, Huntington was compelled to sell the Mojave division of his railroad to Santa Fe, along with granting equal access over other sections of the road to San Francisco. The *New York Times* was among the few who recognized the momentous nature of this event, observing that



SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY/TICOR COLLECTION

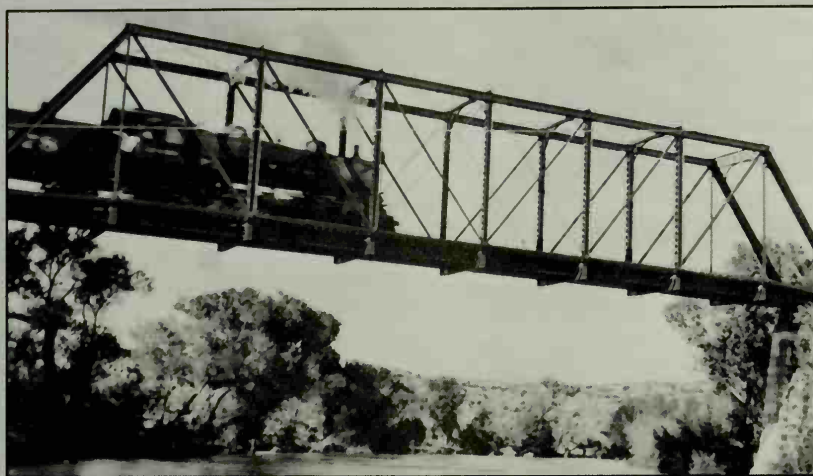
"the Central Pacific Company therefore loses its monopoly of California trade." Certainly Huntington would not have made the concession lightly, but under the circumstances of recent months, he probably could see no way to further forestall the competition he had been so successful in preventing for some fifteen years.²⁷

Meantime in Southern California, Chief Engineer Fred Perris made a detailed survey through Cajon Pass and into the high desert to the Point of Rocks near present Helendale. All of his reports indicated an excellent and feasible railroad route to the junction with the Mojave branch at Waterman (soon to be changed to Barstow in honor of Santa Fe President William Barstow Strong). After completing the survey, Perris wrote to Jacob Victor to urge that prior to public announcement that construction of the California Southern Railroad was to resume, they should quietly repossess the several points in the Cajon Pass where there might be conflict with the Southern Pacific's claims to the right of way. Perris un-

derstood that Southern Pacific had essentially forfeited her rights in the area by reason of abandonment for several years. But if the rival company should occupy any strategic points during one of California Southern's "temporary abandonments," it might cause great delay and expense. Perris suggested placing just enough workmen back in the pass at important locations to prove, if necessary, a "perceivable possession." This would take, he estimated, about twenty men and a foreman at the cost of about \$1,800 per month. Such men could be engaged in essential construction work while insuring the right-of-way claims. He further reminded his colleagues that in light of past "stubborn and vexatious resistance" from Southern Pacific, similar tactics might be expected in the proposed Cajon extension.²⁸

In late November, Perris was dispatched to the National City terminus of the California Southern Railway to supervise construction of a new railroad wharf. While supporters of the project interpreted

this action to be a positive proof that the company contemplated resuming construction of the railway through Cajon Pass, detractors pointed out that many such recent announcements that progress was forthcoming had thus far been merely rhetoric. Any optimism for a quick completion of the line was severely dampened by unprecedented rainstorms in January and February 1884; resultant floods were devastating to the railroad. Besides damage in the Riverside area, floodwaters from the vast Santa Margarita River drainage area through Temecula Canyon carried away some thirty miles of roadway. Ties and bridge timbers from there were later sighted over a hundred miles out at sea.²⁹ As quickly as possible, Victor and Perris, accompanied by an expert named Anderson sent from Boston to assist, surveyed the damages and reported to the company that repairs would cost at least \$119,000. On April 15, President Nickerson issued a plea to California Southern stockholders to raise the funds necessary to begin the needed reconstruction.



(Left) Western terminus of Santa Fe Railroad at National City, California around 1887, not long after consolidation with the California Southern Railroad which had commenced construction at this point.

Landmark bridge constructed across the Mojave River near Victorville on the lower Mojave Narrows in 1885, which still is in use. Massive granite block abutments have withstood several devastating floods, without so much as a crack.

Although only one-third of what was needed was subscribed in this manner, it was sufficient for the repair work to begin.

However, by the summer of 1884, the financial situation for California Southern was most precarious. Construction costs had always been higher than expected. Though some trains had run over the completed portions of the line from National City to Colton before the flood, the operation net loss stood at \$57,000. In July the company defaulted on its financial obligations.³⁰ But the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe corporate heads were not about to allow bankruptcy to enable Huntington and Southern Pacific to acquire the threatened property after all. News dispatches from New York dated August 6 reported that the Santa Fe directors met and discussed the subject of "perfecting their transcontinental connections." Although the final announcement of purchase of the California Southern by Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was not made until November 7, 1884, it is apparent that repair-construction

money was forthcoming sooner from the parent company.³¹

In early August, at the same time news of the proposed purchase first started to appear in the press, Jacob Victor was ordered to "push repairs" on the California Southern with all possible speed. By October all the road except Temecula Canyon was again in operation, and the thousand men working there were expected to soon be transferred to Cajon Pass. After the disastrous rainstorms, in the late spring of 1884, Fred Perris made another survey of his proposed Cajon Pass-Mojave Desert route, while high water marks were still visible along the streambeds. He reported satisfaction that his grade in the pass and the southernmost end of the upper desert area would need but little modification. But from the Point of Rocks northward it was an entirely different story. The recent floods had raised the usually small Mojave River channel to a destructive torrent over half-mile wide and up to seven feet deep; before it subsided it had "virtually changed the topog-

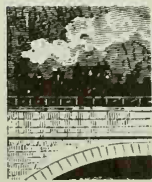
raphy" of the area. The pioneer road which had been in use for thirty years was completely washed away. As a result Perris proposed that the railroad abandon his plan to bridge the river a second time in the area and instead construct a roadbed on the higher ground east of the Mojave River all the way to the junction at Waterman. As usual, his superiors adopted his suggestions as policy.³²

Early in 1885, Perris further demonstrated his versatility as the prime mover on the local scene of the railroad project by negotiating with ranchers located along the Mojave River in what would soon be named Victor Valley (after Jacob Victor). As Perris confided to future California governor Henry H. Markham, then president of Oro Grande mill, located just downstream from where the railroad was to cross the Mojave River, it was of utmost importance to the railroad corporation's future movements to get the right of way question settled as quickly as possible. Perris showed considerable diplomacy in securing passage along the only practicable grade through



TICOR COLLECTION

the Upper Mojave Narrows. Discovering that long-time occupant John Brown's ownership of the property known as the Verde Ranch was based only on a possessory claim, opened the opportunity to persuade the proprietor that the railroad could help him in securing a more substantial title in exchange for the right of way through his ranch. On February 27, Perris reported to Victor that after several days of "most harassing work," he had settled the right-of-way matter with all the local ranchers for the sum of \$3,200, considerably less than he had earlier anticipated.³³



A WESTBOUND train stopped at Waterman Junction in mid-April to unload a five-hundred-man crew and equipment of the

Hampton Company, subcontractors long associated with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. They immediately commenced grading and track laying just east of the existing railroad bridge across the

Mojave River several miles from Waterman. At the same time, at Colton, a special train unloaded a large number of carts, scrapers, plows, and tools, along with seasoned construction crewmen brought in by the Santa Fe from their subsidiary line, the Mexican Central Railroad. These, too, were promptly set to work on the roadway at the foot of Cajon Pass. By July Chief Engineer Perris announced that each crew had finished laying fifteen miles of track. Perhaps more encouraging was the progress reported on the iron bridge brought in sections from San Francisco, described as "one of the finest structures of its kind on this coast," being prepared to span the Mojave River just below the burgeoning sidetrack town of Victor. As the massive construction project continued, Perris also started a large Chinese grading crew on the massive cut necessary to avoid tunneling near the summit of Cajon Pass.³⁴ This proved to be the most time-consuming project, but it, too, was finally completed in mid-November; the last tie spike

in the pass was driven with some ceremony. On November 14, 1885, the first train climbed the new passageway from Southern California to the outside world unimpeded by any of the old monopolistic restrictions. Several days later San Bernardino celebrated completion of the railroad with fireworks, brass bands, speeches, and a barbecue. San Diego designated November 18 as its day for special jubilation and invited Fred Perris and other Santa Fe officials to join in recognition of their mutual triumph. By that time newspapers in both cities predicted modest increases in prosperity which proved to be an understatement of the subsequent region-wide boom that soon was in progress.

Unfortunately, one week after the celebrations, winter rains "played sad havoc" with the new roadway and once again the passageway was closed. As some had feared, the looseness and bareness of the new grade enhanced severe erosion problems; with heavy rains the cuts were quickly filled by mud slides. But this



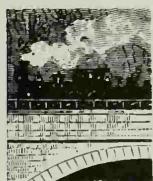
(Left) The San Bernardino Shop and yards for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, c. 1888

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad depot at Elsinore, early 1900s.

proved a temporary problem, one resolved by new water-diverting designs on the embankments and sometimes, the installation of wooden drain chutes.³⁵

By the beginning of 1886 the new railroad was again in full operation. By then the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had served notice of severing ties with the Transcontinental Traffic Association so as to establish passenger and freight rates independent of agreements with competing railroads. In February 1886, Collis P. Huntington attempted to arrange a compromise to prevent the threatened rate war, but William B. Strong refused to accept anything less than a full share of the potential traffic. Huntington claimed he had even offered to give the rival railroad some Southern Pacific profits "for the sake of peace," but he said the Santa Fe wanted more than it had ever earned or than he thought it could ever earn. It was obvious: Strong and his associates were determined to capitalize on the long-standing resentments against Southern Pacific's often ex-

orbitant transportation charges in Southern California.³⁶



THE OPPOSING railroads immediately launched an all-out rate war. On February 18, Southern Pacific and Central Pacific announced it would cut its passenger fares to the Pacific Coast by one third, making the price for an individual ticket \$70 from New York to San Francisco. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe countered with a fare of \$25 between Riverside and Kansas City, along with comparable reductions in freight rates. Ticket sales in the midwest on excursions to California were enormous as the prices continued to drop. By March 6, the rate from Chicago to the coast was \$20 and a Los Angeles newspaper of March 13 reported that "for a while last Saturday you could buy a ticket from the Missouri River for \$1.00," before the price stabilized at \$10 to Kansas City, \$15 to Chicago and \$28 to New York. The competi-

tion was further enhanced in mid-1887 by Santa Fe railroad garnering its own rail link all the way to Los Angeles through connection with the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad.³⁷

The end result was an unprecedented Southern California land boom. Completion of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe was the initial stimulus for that momentous event, one which thereafter fed on promotion, speculation and additional increases in population. A decade later, longtime Southern Pacific opponent Harrison Gray Otis correctly concluded, "thanks to a competing railway, Southern California has not suffered from the Huntington lash as severely as other sections of the state." The combined result of the competition and area growth was to transform permanently Southern California from a provincial pastoral region into the mainstream of a more complex and diversified economy. A new era in the life of Southern California now became a reality.³⁸ [CHS]

See notes beginning on page 145.



FRAGMENTS FROM THE PAST

A NEW TEACHER IN A FRONTIER TOWN

Roberta Ahlquist and Ivan B. Kolozsvari

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



CRATER, California and Edna Raum shared similar fates. Both enriched people's lives, both disappeared leaving scant traces of their existence. Crater, a little mining town south of Mono Lake, east of Yosemite, was reclaimed by the shifting pumice surrounding it. The only evidence of the community's existence is on maps produced in the late nineteenth century. Of Edna Raum, the enthusiastic elementary school teacher who taught there, only five letters remain, written to her mother more than eighty years ago.

Fresh out of teacher training at San Jose Teacher's College Edna set out for her first assignment in Mono County from Berkeley on August 27,

1902.¹ A trip of only seven hours today, hers was an arduous journey lasting three days. From Oakland to Reno, she took the luxurious cross-country train established by Crocker, Stanford, Huntington, and Hopkins, the empire builders. The travel was quite an undertaking for a young woman who was leaving a big town behind for a post in the wilderness. Her home town since birth, Berkeley was at that time witnessing its most spectacular growth. The University of California and local industries were expanding rapidly, making Berkeley a prosperous and respectable city. Since 1892 Edison dynamos had supplied light to the city. Two telephone companies competed for

service. On the streets of Berkeley, there were already parking problems—not enough hitching posts for horses.²

With a send-off by relatives which included a magnificent lunch, a *Ladies Home Journal*, a copy of *Ainsley's Magazine* and two boxes of candy, Edna was ready for this new adventure. A fatherly "old gentleman" in the railroad car sleeping berth above Edna was impressed by the adventurous young woman. Her comments about him in a letter to her mother give some idea of her inquisitive nature.



I held him at a distance for some time, [wrote Edna on August 30, 1902] but

he was so gentlemanly, and so kind that I could not long, and soon we were the best of friends, and he told me that if I would get up on time next morning I might have breakfast with him. I thanked him but did not say I would. The next morning he was waiting for me when I got up. I told him I had a lunch, and did not care to, but he insisted in a very nice way, and I finally yielded. So we went into the dining car, and to say everything was swell does not express it.

▲
Edna's concern for both propriety and her mother's approval is evident as she continues:

▲
After breakfast we had a little chat, but we were soon at Reno. There he carried my things off the car onto the other I was to take, talked with me for a while, then went back to his car, for he was going on to the east. He told me that he had a wife but had never had any children but he said, "I tell you, if I had as plucky a little girl as you are, I'd be mighty proud of her!" and I felt mighty proud of myself, for I had been afraid I had been too familiar in letting him take me to breakfast, but he was an old man, and I let him do a great deal of the talking, and I don't believe it was out of place; do you?

▲
Edna Raum's early preoccupation with social conventions contrasted with her attitude two months later. Social values in a pioneer town, she discovered, were often likely to reflect sincere human feelings rather than mere customary niceties. Trust, fairness, mutual dependence—these were necessities in the barren coun-

try east of the Sierra Nevada, and without them one could not hope to survive for long.

She rode in comfort by train to Reno; thereafter the real "wild west" began. The scenic route of the railroad had been carved into the Sierra slopes by thousands of Chinese laborers. But by the time the train reached the high plateau country east of the Sierra Nevada mountains, monotonous gray had replaced the lush greenery. Muddy roads, wilderness and great distances between pioneer towns, bare necessities, and a different set of social values confronted her. Edna discovered that

▲
You must be friendly with the hotel people and the stage coach drivers [when you come up for a visit] for as long as you are they will be your friends. They have one price and will not charge you a cent more. Everything costs terribly up here, and they are justified in charging high prices. Nobody has any use up here for a stingy person. (October 12, 1902)

▲
She was charged five dollars for transportation, \$2.50 extra for luggage, a dollar for bed and a meal. These were considerable sums, considering her teacher's salary was to be less than 25 dollars per month. Even at those prices, however, it was not a luxurious trip.

EDNA invited her mother to visit two months after her arrival:

▲
Decide to come on Wednesday so you can get here on Friday. Take the train I took and get a sleeper. You will have breakfast on the train and get to Reno about half past eight. At Reno the train stops for quite a while. There you get off and get

on a train of little yellow cars. That train finally starts for Carson, and gets there about ten o'clock, then goes on to Mound House, where you have to change again. There you will only have to wait ten or fifteen minutes. But at that place there is a little house right near the station, and you go and ask the lady to let you use the toilet, for you will have no other chance until you get to Hawthorne. Miss Overfelt told me to, and I did and was glad of it. (October 12, 1902)

▲
Mound House, just like Crater, now exists only on old maps or in stage-coach schedules.³ At Mound House the travelers switched to a small utility train to continue their journey. The locomotive could haul ten to twelve cars downhill, but when it encountered a steep grade, the train was broken up into sections, and the locomotives then shuttled back and forth pulling three or four cars. As Edna described it:

▲
You get on a little train that was built for Adam and Eve. There are only two cars and one of those is for baggage. It will probably be full of men, for there is a mining boom up here now, but everybody is as polite as can be, if they are treated that way themselves. Everybody was very good to me, and I was mostly among men too. I was fortunate in having three ladies on the car with me, but they say it is unusual for this time of year. We got to Hawthorne about six o'clock.

[In Hawthorne, Nevada] there are two hotels but both are good. As soon as you see the hotel man, tell him you want to go to Bodie, and you want to sit with the driver—unless the weather is bad. The seat with the driver is much pleasanter unless it is raining or snowing; when you are on his seat you do not feel the bumps so much.

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(Overleaf) Hauling supplies down the main street of Bodie. Date is not known.

Packing wood into Bodie, its only source of fuel. Note the mining claims being worked on the hill and the small and flimsy houses dotting the background. (All of the Bodie photographs included in this article are courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.)

There are two drivers, so of course I do not know if you will get the one I had or not. But he is a fine one. He is a man about thirty and has driven the stage for years. They say the stage is perfectly safe with him—and he was so good. He seldom spoke unless I did, and then he was very polite. And before we started he put boxes under my feet because I could not touch the bottom and he said I should not feel the bumps so badly if I could brace myself. Then, as it got cold in the night, he stopped once to put a robe around me and at the stage station where we changed horses he got a shawl for me to wear the rest of the way [to the town named Bodie]. (October 12, 1902)

▲
W.S. Bodie (?–1860), a skilled tinsmith from Poughkeepsie, New York, sailed around the Tierra del Fuego to join the California gold rush. In the desolate land, trying to grab a rabbit, so the story goes, he came up with a handful of gold. The place became a boom town, bearing his name. The town also attracted its share of thieves. “Throw down that box!” was a commonplace command shouted in roadside conversations by highwaymen from Bodie.⁴ Nevertheless, forty years later, in spite of its previous fearful reputation, Bodie was a safe place to visit.

▲
You will get to Bodie about two o’clock, and the stage will take you right to the hotel door. The man will show you a room, and before he leaves you tell him you want to take the stage the next morning to Jordan, and tell him to be sure to call you on time.

At the hotel they were very good to me. The hotel man at Hawthorne telegraphed to have them save me a good room. But when I got there all the rooms were full, so they gave me the bed of the wife of the proprietor, and besides that

she was up to meet me, and know if I wanted anything. They woke me at six and I had dressed and had breakfast. I was the only lady in the dining room, and a China man did the cooking, so I ate an immense breakfast. My bill at the hotel was a dollar, but yours will probably be a dollar and a half, for Mr. Farrington told me they have raised all over the country. (October 12, 1902)

▲
Edna told her mother the stage was scheduled to leave Bodie at seven o’clock in the morning and to arrive at Jordan before noon. Wryly she described Jordan as “an immense town consisting of one house, and a store where the Indians trade.” The same building served as the lunch stop-over before another five-hour ride to Crater.

Curious about how she was perceived as a new teacher, Edna asked her mother not to tell anyone who she was when she traveled to Crater.

▲
The stage driver [on Edna’s way to Crater] was an old man, and a worse talker than any old woman I ever met. He told me all the gossips of Mono County. He told me about every teacher that had been in the county for 40 years. [So] don’t let on who you are, but pump all you can about Farrington’s new teacher. Ask him how they like her, what kind of person she is, if she is young or old, and everything you can think of. Tell him you heard they had a new teacher this year, and you wonder what kind of person she is . . . but don’t tell anybody what your name is, because of course, everybody in the county knows mine—knew it before I got here,—and I want you to pump all you can. (October 1902)

AT THE turn of the century, the vicinity of Mono Lake was deso-

late save for some green patches the settlers had created. Since then the area has declined steadily. Dust took over the towns, and the obsidian mountains have been mined and reduced to sand. “It seems to me I do remember seeing one or two trees,” Edna reflected as the new teacher, “but the whole country is nothing but sand and sage brush.” Bodie and Crater shared this desolate terrain. The wood shortage was so acute that Edna referred to the cost of heating her schoolroom and warned her mother to “dress appropriately,” because firewood was a rather precious commodity. The Bodie Weekly Standard gave notice to local “wood-pirates,” a threat that was followed up shortly:

▲
Bang! There was a rise in wood. A man living in the south end of town took a stick of wood lying handy on a neighbor’s pile. It burnt well until the giant powder cartridge in the end of the wood went off. The stove and a section of the roof went with it. The wicked neighbor laughed in his sleep.⁵

▲
Reference to the hostile climate and pervasive dust was a constant refrain in Edna’s letters after her arrival. She advised her mother to

▲
Get some substantial shirtwaist for yourself. Get dark ones for I never saw such a place for getting dirty. I dirty one in two days at school.

You can’t guess what I did this afternoon. I washed my head. It was getting itchy, and I thought the best thing to do was go ahead and wash it. And really, my head has been dirty before, but never seen the water so dirty before. It was actually thick. I had to use four waters. The sand flies up here you know, and everything gets perfectly filthy. It sifts



One of the many placer mines which were worked in the vicinity of Bodie during its heyday as a mining town.

in through the windows and under the doors, and is impossible to keep clean.



Even in this forsaken place, the school was well equipped, and adequate living facilities were provided for the teacher. This was a credit to such pioneers of women's education as Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon. In the nineteenth century, teaching was the only field of skilled work open to women. Frontier states and territories were vying for the "educated and trained women who would be willing to act as *missionary teachers* [sic] in the newly settled and ignorant sections of the West and South."⁶ Those educators who were preparing young women to be teachers faced complex problems. The training schools in the East had great difficulties raising money to send teachers to the West. Catherine Beecher campaigned for years to win public opinion and public money for common schools and trained teachers. The Eastern schools had to "select the teachers willing to take the long, uncomfortable journey to the western frontiers to teach in raw, young communities."⁷ Finally, in the 1850s, these schools took responsibility for seeing that the young teachers were provided with proper school facilities, reasonable living accommodations, and protection. Fifty years later Edna Raum was the beneficiary of these earlier efforts.



The school is just a little ways from the house, and a fine little school for such an out of the way place. Everything inside is in very good condition. They have supplies for a whole year, and maps and charts as good as in any city school—all recent and in good condition. (August 30, 1902)

My room has a bureau without the glass . . . then a glass . . . hanging up. There is a wash stand, a rocker, a straight chair, my two trunks, a little stand that my books are on, and I am writing by candlelight.



One letter makes an interesting comment on the perils of being a single female in a mining camp society comprised largely of unmarried men. It is not clear whether Edna was a heavy woman or whether she was described as heavy so that she would be more eligible for the position in a village of so many available men.



Maye told me today that last week it was reported that I weighed 220 pounds. I'm going to tell Prof. Dailey. Since I got up here I have been told how he was mixed up in my getting this school, and I feel that he is even a better friend of mine that I had tho't, and I thought he was a pretty good friend. (August 30, 1902)



What were the qualifications for a teaching post in the early 1900s? Was Edna Raum really overweight or did her friendly professor describe the new graduate as unattractive just to help her get the job? It may have been necessary to choose someone not too attractive for reasons Edna hinted at:



They idolize Miss Overfelt, and if I can come up to her I shall be all right, otherwise I don't know. I see very clearly that there is only one trustee who must be satisfied, and he is the one who was in love with Miss Overfelt [the teacher before Edna]. His sister told me that he has had quite a case with her, but she thinks it is broken now. (August 30, 1902)

WHEN Edna set out to the

back country in 1902, the capture of the last Stone Age Indian, Ishi, was still a decade away.⁸ The full force of the Gold Rush fell upon the Indians with brutal impact. California Indians had no defense against the arrival of tens of thousands of gold-seekers bearing the Industrial Age. Vivid were the memories of the Indian attacks of the 1850s, when prospectors left behind everything. Some were killed, such as Bodie's partner, Taylor. Nor did the Indians forget the retaliatory raids and the resulting massacres against them. It was not difficult to send frightened Paiutes fleeing into the mountains to evade marauding parties. Edna's students included a fair number of Indians, and the change in her attitude toward them as she got to know them was remarkable:



. . . had some lovely grapes last night. The Indians brought them in. They are the funniest people, but I guess they are as good as they can be. Two or three called on me and one little girl came this morning and offered to help me unpack. I gave her a picture book and set her on the floor where I could watch her, and then I went on with my work. (August 30, 1902)

But [I] want to tell you not to be afraid of the Indians, for they will be your best friends as long as you are civil to them. They are a great deal better and safer than the majority of the white people you meet around San Jose and San Francisco. (October 12, 1902)



Even though her view of the Indian population was patronizing, she was quite open to the acceptance of another culture.



I grow to like the country more and more every day. It is wild—wild does not ex-



Hauling ore from one of the shaft mines which were scattered in and around the gold-rush town.

press it, though. It is more than wild. There are a dozen white people on the ranch, and any other white people whom we see are travelers to or from Yosemite. But the country is full of Indians, and I am just charmed with them. I certainly never met such interesting people. And they are just as good as they can be. The men work on the ranch and the women work for Mrs. Farrington, or stay at the Indian camps. Mrs. F. makes them dresses, doctors them when they are sick, and feeds them when they are hungry, and as a result she could not have such good neighbors at any place among the whites. They would do anything for anyone on the ranch. Oh! I am just more than charmed with them. I could sit and watch them by the hour. (September 10, 1902)

I told the class to write a composition on haying and this is what one of the Indians gave me. You can see from this how much they have yet to learn. But they read and spell and do arithmetic as well as, in some cases better than the whites. (October 30, 1902)

ANOTHER letter vividly describes Edna's social life in the form of a dance at the end of her first week in Crater:

▲ Can you believe that I actually went seventeen miles to a dance? We had been talking about it all day,—all week in fact,—but decided not to go. At the supper table, Mr. Farrington Sr. said we had better go and the little fellow wanted to go pretty badly, so we argued the point during supper and finally decided we would go. We did not have to dress up, but I went in and took a bath, and then put on my green waist and short skirt, and we started out at quarter to seven. We had our light dresses, ribbons, pins and so forth in a grip, and when we

reached Lundy we went to the home of a friend of the Farringtons to dress. We met a young man there who was going to the dance, and he asked Maye Farrington to go with him and Ben Farrington took me. There was an immense crowd there about twenty couples, I guess, but in deep earnest they told me that the hall was too full to dance well. It really was a very small hall, but just think of forty people being too large a crowd. They said it is a larger crowd than they have had for some time. Just imagine! They ought to go to some of the Normal dances, where there are always crowds like the one you went to in June. They would suffocate to death in a crowd like that, I guess. But guess who was there! Cordie Hays who graduated with me from Normal. You can't imagine how good it seemed to see her, and she said the same of me. We were to-gether a great deal, and I promised her that the first time I have vacation I would spend a day or two with her. She may come and stay a day or two with me in a couple of weeks.

But now comes the great part—but first I must tell you that I danced or made an attempt at dancing three different times. Well, we stayed, and Maye danced until four o'clock, then we went and changed our clothes again and at twenty-minutes of five we started home. Actually, now, how can you own a daughter who went to a dance and "didn't get home till the marnin'?" There is a new teacher at Lundy, too, and she was there, so we two formed the nucleus of attraction, I tell you. Maye said I must tell you what some one said about me. She was dancing and strangely the young man began to talk about Farrington's new school teacher, and in the course of his conversation he said, "But say, she's a peach! She knocks the shingles off the Lundy school teacher!" Did you ever hear such an expression in your life? Now, needn't tell that, or I won't tell you

next time. We got home finally about half past six, and slept half of the day. The Lundy teacher's name is Miss Brinell or Grinell. I may not spell it rightly, but that is the way it sounds. She is a Berkeley girl, and this is her first school. I like her ever so much, and Lu may know her. (September 7, 1902)

▲ When Mr. Farrington, Sr. urged the women to go to the dance, his concern may have been more than for the young people to have a good time. The obligation to take part in community events was understood as part of a teacher's position. Sensitivity to community needs was evident in the curriculum that required Edna to learn Spanish at San Jose Teachers College. Edna got a chance to use her knowledge shortly after her arrival at Crater.

▲ There is an old Mexican down here whose name is Jesus, and last night I tried to talk Spanish to him. Immediately he became a friend of mine and told me all about himself. (August 31, 1902)

▲ The letters give an impression of a well-prepared, conscientious teacher with diverse social skills. She was a sensitive, dedicated daughter who sent most of her earnings home to her mother.

Bodie is a ghost town today. Mound House and Crater have disappeared completely. We have not been able to learn how Edna Raum's life continued, nor when and where she died. It appears that she left nothing behind but a few letters set down in random moments. These precious tracks of one young teacher's life contribute to the extensive map of all lives that have gone into the making of California history. CHS
See notes beginning on page 146.



Working the gold smelter at Bodie.

HELEN MARSTON AND THE CALIFORNIA PEACE MOVEMENT 1915-1945



SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION

United States Delegates to the International Congress of Women, the Hague, 1915. Rose Morgan French of Palo Alto is seated at the far right in the first row. Jane Addams is second from left.

WHEN WOMEN WORKED

Joan M. Jensen

In San Diego, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when I was beginning to march in the streets to show my opposition to the Vietnam War, there were always a few "little old ladies," as I called them then. They marched with great determination, were regarded with special appreciation by their younger companions, and gave me great encouragement by their presence. I seldom wondered then who they were but it was quite evident that they felt comfortable doing what I had only recently come to feel was necessary. They were the oldtimers.

This is the story of one of those oldtimers, Helen Marston, and the peace movement of which she was a part from 1917 to 1982, when she died at eighty-nine. The main organization within which Marston worked was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF for short. Marston first became involved in the peace movement as a student at Wellesley in 1917, organized WILPF in San Diego in 1924, and continued to work for peace for the next sixty years. Marston, later Helen Marston-Beardsley, marched in anti-war protests in San Diego through the 1970s and in 1980, when she was eighty-eight years old. Given the fragile state of women's

history in those days, it is no wonder that I, a historian of American history, did not know about her or much about WILPF. What is more surprising is that in 1985, when I returned to California to do research on a book about California women, I could find so little about women and the peace movement. That lacuna intrigued me, for I knew from other research that California women must have been active in the peace movement in the 1920s and 1930s, as I knew they were in the 1960s and 1970s. This is an attempt, as a historian, belatedly, to create a context for those elder stateswomen and to analyse their significance for women's history.¹

Helen Marston would seem an unlikely person to devote her life to public reform. Certainly, the local histories do not remember her at all. Nor do they say much about her mother. They do, however, amply document the life of her father, George White Marston, who arrived in San Diego from Wisconsin in 1870 when he was twenty, who began working as a clerk in a hotel, then worked in a drygoods business, formed a partnership, within eight years opened his own store, and survived the bust of the 1890s. He married and fathered a son and four

daughters, the last of whom was Helen, born in 1892. His business continued to prosper. By 1912, when Helen was twenty, the Marston Company owned a fashionable department store and the family was wealthy. The successful entrepreneur was a civic activist as well. Marston helped organize the Chamber of Commerce, a Congregational Church, a Young Men's Christian Association, and the Benevolent Society of San Diego. He also became a member of the board of trustees of the new Pomona College in 1888. During the 1880s, he served on the city council twice, and in the next several decades acquired a reputation as a benevolent city father, helping to establish parks and museums. In the 1890s, he became interested in the writings of Henry George, and by 1912, he was a Roosevelt Progressive. In 1913, he campaigned for mayor on a platform of controlled expansion and was defeated by the labor-backed candidate who accused him of obstructing development. The local labor paper, *Labor Leader*, described the campaign as pitting the "silkies against the woolen socks."²

What was the daughter of such a prominent city father to do? Helen Marston left few memoirs, but apparently except for an attack of polio when she was two, her young life had

been nothing but ease. She attended the best private schools in the area, accompanied her parents on an extended European trip in 1909, and in 1913 followed her older sisters as a student at Wellesley, an elite women's college in Massachusetts.³

At Wellesley, Marston was drawn into a world where not only men but also women understood and participated in political reform. Wellesley College literally transformed Marston's life. She arrived shy, with no experience at public speaking and little exposure to educated women reformers or to pacifism. She found teachers like Emily Balch, an economist and anti-militarist. By February, 1916, Marston was writing home to her father that she did not think preparedness was a solution in defense. "Why not spend some of our money and energies in forming good relations with Japan, and in taking care of the women and children in factories and so forth, rather than arming to protect them against an army that we merely assume is coming," she wrote. Then, as if worried about expressing independent views on a major political issue, she added: "If you don't think this way, won't you write me? . . . I read the papers but haven't any political background." At the same time, she wrote with perfect confidence that her father would applaud her participation in student efforts to reform Wellesley's strict Sunday rules. "I rose and spoke for the first time in my life," she informed him.⁴

Marston was home every summer and she also took 1914 off to make a second European trip with her parents. Beginning in 1915, she worked as a volunteer at Neighborhood

House, a San Diego settlement house that served the immigrant Mexican population. Marston continued her work at Neighborhood House for several years after graduating in 1917, reporting to her former classmates that she was teaching cooking classes, having "funny long talks with the boys," and engaging in the Mexican dances at which they "handed the babies about between the dances or put them in a row on one of our beds." Later she spent time as a settlement volunteer in Chicago and at the Henry Street House in New York, but she never committed herself totally to settlement work. It was varied and enticing, she wrote of her work at Neighborhood House, but "not always too encouraging."⁵

She found political work more exciting. In 1918, Marston wrote that she had argued with old ladies "until they left their half-prepared dinners and accompanied me to the polls to vote us dry." She was, she admitted, "getting acquainted with every doorbell in this city as a canvasser in various 'drives.'"⁶

Marston also kept in touch with the peace work of Jane Addams and Emily Balch. In 1921, Jane Addams asked her personally to attend the WILPF congress in Vienna. Writing home to her family to discuss plans, Marston emphasized twice that WILPF women were pacifists, not extremists, and that the trip would involve no personal danger to herself. She told her parents that she had wanted to do relief work in Europe since the beginning of the war and that once overseas she would like to stay to do relief work with the Quakers. Although now twenty-nine, Marston was asking parental permission to "do something rather different and have a little adventure." The letter was twenty-seven pages long, the argument logical and reassuring. "Even in bed you may break a rib," she

coaxed. The permission was granted. Marston attended the conference, then worked for seven months for the Friends Mission in Vienna, helping distribute rations to the impoverished professional middle-class, the *Mittelstand*. Marston returned to New York in December, 1921, where she joined her father and sister Mary. Mary noted later, "Helen found it hard to reconcile the extravagance of New York with the misery she had left behind her in Vienna." After a six-month trip home to San Diego via the Panama Canal, Marston again faced her affluent family. What could she do with her life? She decided to teach.⁷

Teaching and teacher training were to occupy much of Marston's time for the next fifteen years. At first Marston saw her classes as preparation for social service work. She studied physics and chemistry but then taught in two "very interesting modern schools." By 1926, she was clearly becoming bored with this as well, for she wrote for the *Wellesley Sequel* "I do not like to write myself down as a failure for all to see or to appear to have become a pessimist, but if I permit myself to wax enthusiastic over my job of the adjustment and development of senior obstreperous children in a small modern school, as I easily could do, then I see my wretched efforts rising up to confront my glowing descriptions and I remember how bad the children were today. You had better just write 'school teacher' after my name." By 1927, Marston was in New York studying analytical and behavioristic psychology of young children at Columbia University and the New School for Social Research in New York. Then she taught at a "progressive" school in Hollywood before returning to San Diego to teach first graders at a similarly "progressive" school in La Jolla. "We have a big yard with plenty of dirt, blossoming [*sic*] trees, animals and packing boxes for the construc-

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WILPF Peace
Caravan ready to
start from Griffith
Park, Los Angeles,
June 21, 1931.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION



tion of boats and buses," she wrote to classmates in 1931, urging them to visit and "bring the children." During the summer of 1933, she taught in a West Virginia school set up for miners' children. She taught in San Diego until she married in 1935.⁸

An event in 1924 firmly linked Marston's vocation of social work to the politics of peace. In early January 1924, Emily Balch arrived in San Diego, seeking to recover her health after exhaustion from arduous work, first against the war (her contract at Wellesley was not renewed in 1918 because of her opposition to the war), then on relief, and the building of the post-war women's peace movement. Her sister who was also ill accompanied her. Balch brought with her the names of several older San Diego women who had supported pre-war peace activities. One had given Jane Addams \$1,000 to help finance the 1915 Woman's International Congress of Women at The Hague. Others had helped found in 1915 the San Diego branch of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), the predecessor of WILPF. Balch also had the names of former Wellesley

students, including Marston. Balch rested and visited for two weeks, then began speaking on peace and organizing. The older women seemed to have little energy for expanding their peace activities; but Marston responded enthusiastically to Balch. In a letter home dated 13 January 1924, Balch noted that she hoped Marston would help organize a San Diego branch of WILPF and in her diary of February 22, just before leaving, Balch wrote that she had attended a WILPF meeting at Marston's house. From that time on Marston was to be an active part of the California peace movement, a major contact with the Eastern leadership, and the WILPF's most trusted leader on the Pacific Coast. She eventually became an organizer for the state, then the entire western region in the 1930s, and finally a member of the national executive board, traveling east for meetings.⁹

Marston was exactly the type of woman the national needed and wanted for its campaign to organize California women for peace. Once committed to WILPF, Marston never left it. Marston gave WILPF the

blend of education, social background, and political awareness that it most valued in local and regional leaders. Her family was liberal enough to support her even as she moved left in her peace activities. Although Marston often worked for other groups as well, especially the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, she remained active in WILPF even after marrying in 1935 and moving to Los Angeles. When she married at forty-three, it was to a civil rights attorney and judge who had helped start the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California. By the time she moved back to San Diego in the late 1960s, the WILPF branch there had lapsed, so she immediately called a group of women together to resurrect it. By this time she had become a Quaker and was one of the most respectable of peace advocates in San Diego.¹⁰

Marston had serious problems within and outside WILPF to deal with as a new organizer. One of her major concerns was leadership. California WILPF leadership overlapped with that of the earlier Woman's

Peace Party but changed over the years. As elsewhere, the California WPP began within the women's club movement and recruited from the ranks of club women who saw peace as a woman's issue. Club women, however, often had other priorities in their families, travels, and homes and were not interested in organizing. Many of them did not outlast the first confrontations with opponents.

Opposition was not a problem when the WPP first organized in California in early 1915. Peace was a highly respected cause nationally, and the WPP was able to obtain the support of a wide range of prominent civic men and women. Bankers, presidents of colleges, insurance executives, and ministers, along with a variety of club women, lent their names to both the Los Angeles and the San Francisco branches for their councils. California sent a delegation to the April 1915 International Congress of Women at The Hague.¹¹

Among the California women at The Hague was Alice Park, who had organized the Palo Alto branch of the WPP. Alice Park's decades of peace work were to be an important basis for establishing Palo Alto as a center of pacifist activities that has lasted down to the present. Park had moved west from Boston with her engineer husband in 1893 and was left a wealthy woman when he died in 1909. She worked for California suffrage and with that achieved in 1911, turned her attention more directly to working for peace, something that had interested her and other California clubwomen since the 1890s. With the vote, women intended to use their political power to change the way nations handled foreign affairs.¹²

In Palo Alto, Park found a group of middle-class women ready to engage in volunteer activities for peace. In May 1915, she helped organize a branch of the Woman's Peace Party

with Ellen Coit Elliott as head. Elliott was a part of a group of women whose husbands had followed David Starr Jordan west to help with the establishment of the new Stanford University in 1891. Elliott had been a librarian at Cornell University and her husband was the first registrar at Stanford. Another woman who joined in the peace movement later wrote about how the young wives of faculty and staff, left without the accustomed servants in a new community, were determined not to become mired down in housekeeping. They experimented with dress reform and cooperative kitchens and supported women's suffrage. Many were also active in the peace movement. David Starr Jordan had become Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation in 1910 and was on the Woman's Peace Party's speakers' bureau list; his wife Jessie Knight Jordan lent her name to the Advisory Council of the WPP. Several other women who became members were married to Stanford faculty.¹³

The group that formed in May 1915, had thirty members, a respectable number for a small university community. This first woman's peace movement in Palo Alto was short lived, however, for preparedness soon overtook the campus. Women gradually dropped out as preparedness and then war became popular causes on campus.

Despite Park's personal commitment to peace, she was not able to sustain the Palo Alto group. Park was an important link to the national and international peace movements because she could afford to travel, but that mobility also meant a concomitant weakness in sustaining the local. Park had already demonstrated for women's rights in support of Emmeline Pankhurst and attended the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Hungary in 1913 before attending the Congress of International Women at The Hague. She returned

ready to take up her peace activities again, writing to WPP headquarters in November 1915, "I wish we could organize the peace sentiment that is lying around loose." In an effort to do so, she distributed thousands of WPP leaflets at the Panama-Pacific Exposition and spoke on peace. That fall, however, she returned again to Europe, joining the Ford Peace ship, and then attending the WPP annual meeting in the East. By the time she returned, the fledgling Palo Alto group had disintegrated.¹⁴

The preparedness campaign of 1915 had quickly melted the broad statewide community support for peace and given women their first taste of opposition. Katherine D. Cumberson of Palo Alto, the vice-president of the California Federation of Woman's Clubs who began organizing the state WPP in 1915, developed the first networks north and south, and then watched the branches disintegrate during the Pacific Coast preparedness movement. Cumberson reported to headquarters in November 1915, "It is more difficult to get members than it was before the preparedness scare. Then you could move them through their emotions, now you must argue."¹⁵

As the women prepared their arguments, opposition crystalized around the Pacific Coast Defense League. This group had consolidated the scattered coastal Army and Navy Leagues into one coalition supporting military preparedness. The League launched a broad campaign, not only to lobby for military appropriations for Pacific Coast defenses but also for military training in the high schools. Abstract opposition to war now faced concrete organized support for military activities.¹⁶

By January 1916, the WPP was encountering open opposition. The

Helen Marston,
Radcliffe College
Class of 1917.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE ARCHIVES



Defense League, Cumberson wrote, "is giving us a merry run." It had secured an active anti-suffragist from New York to denounce the women's peace campaign. While Cumberson struggled on in the north, the campaign stopped the Southern California branch in its tracks. It cancelled all public activities and confined itself to a reading class. By early 1917, Cumberson was still trying to organize but ready to eliminate "peace" from the group's name because there was so much sentiment against it. In March, on the eve of the entry of the United States into the European war, she reported from her home in Palo Alto, "Stanford is now an armed camp." California women who persisted in their pacifism after the United States officially joined the war in 1917 found themselves ostracized by former friends and investigated by the government. Even Park, who tried to continue her wartime peace work through the People's Peace Council, ceased public activity when that group was harassed out of existence by federal agents and local super-patriots. The California WPP disintegrated

and its leaders did not attempt to revive the peace movement until 1922, after national leaders had reformed as WILPF.¹⁷

Cumberson began the task of rebuilding the northern movement, but she was never again as successful as before the war among her club-women constituency. After moving from Palo Alto to San Francisco in 1922, Cumberson laid careful plans to establish a new branch of the WILPF. This attempt failed despite an enthusiastic first public meeting when the woman she selected as president did nothing. A second attempt to organize the San Francisco branch in early 1923 also failed and Cumberson wrote dejectedly to Amy Woods, executive director of WILPF, that she thought the failure of women to carry through on their promises "the result of some subtle force working against our organization." When the formerly thriving Palo Alto branch had not revived by the end of 1922, a new member Annie Laurie Tait wrote disconsolately, "there is, I think, some element here that is acting as a deterrent to us in

some ways." A woman wrote from Redlands to WILPF headquarters that she, too, encountered opposition from militarists.¹⁸

The opposition in San Francisco and elsewhere along the Pacific Coast to WILPF seemed to be a response to the growing success of WILPF in mobilizing opposition to post-war rearmament at the national level. In 1923, the War Department launched a nationwide campaign against women pacifists. Throughout the country the War Department asked officers to condemn women pacifists as "bolsheviks," singling out as particularly dangerous a San Francisco peace activist, Sara Bard Field. A suffrage worker known for her speaking ability, Field had delivered an address in Washington in 1920 for the unveiling of the Susan B. Anthony statue in the Capitol. Soon after the War Department staff obtained a copy of a letter purportedly written by Field saying that she supported revolution, peacefully if possible, violently if not. With this letter as supposed proof of the revolutionary goals of women pacifists,

generals in the War Department condemned women reformers, particularly WILPF women, as bolsheviks. Field was a member of WILPF, and was invited to speak before the San Francisco WILPF in 1923. But Field was not active in organizing WILPF in any way. In fact, Field was still recovering from a nervous breakdown following an automobile accident in which her son was killed and she was injured. She was attempting to get her personal life together after years of intense suffrage work and an extremely bitter separation and divorce from her husband. Except for a very few speaking engagements, Field did not return to public life thereafter. She lived with and then married a retired lawyer and former army officer. Her name appears nowhere in WILPF documents except as the 1923 speaker. The Washington office later recommended her after a well-known national speaker cancelled an appearance in California but she refused a second invitation to speak.¹⁹

In Washington, WILPF leaders immediately counterattacked. From Washington, WILPF executive director Woods wrote that the campaign by the War Department did not discourage her for it showed the growing strength of peace groups. Women pacifists and other women's groups forced the War Department to retreat from its open assault on women by threatening political retaliation by newly enfranchised women.²⁰

The War Department had misjudged the sentiment of American people, in California as elsewhere. Despite the War Department's attacks, Marston and the newly organized WILPF in San Diego successfully presented their arguments against increased armaments at a 1924 joint Army-WILPF debate on Defense Day. Marston herself was a little unsure of launching the San Diego chapter with such a major undertaking so soon after its forma-

tion. Once decided on by the group, however, she helped ensure its success. This event is uniquely preserved in a typescript so that we know precisely what occurred when 3,500 San Diegans crowded into the Civic Auditorium on September 7, 1924. The debate began promptly at 3 P.M. with the singing of the National Anthem and "Dixie." Marston then made a statement that WILPF opposed Defense Day and believed the best defense was not preparedness for war. The chairman announced he was for Defense Day and then the debate took place between a War Department representative, Colonel Charles M. Tobin, and WILPF's speaker Paul B. Blanchard from the League of Industrial Democracy. Tobin said that some women wanted to destroy the government but that God, the law of nature, and the judgement of great men called for "reasonable preparation." Blanchard kept his argument closer to home, noting what he loved (the California climate for one) and what he hated—child labor, slums, corruption, and the Ku Klux Klan. He said he was opposed to Defense Day not because he was a pacifist, rather because it had not been approved by Congress or the people but "foisted upon the people by a reactionary War Department." He then named various governors, churches, and women's clubs that opposed Defense Day. The second reason for his opposition was the effect it might have on other nations, that "the War Department is going on to use our emotions to further its imperialistic plans and send our soldiers and our sons to protect the American bankers and their foreign investments." He concluded by arguing that it symbolized the international race for armament and that world peace could only be achieved by disarmament. Americans must, he urged, take up the task of extending justice instead of force to other

nations. A show of hands after the debate showed overwhelming support for Blanchard's position despite the attendance of a number of patriotic groups. Marston was elated.²¹

Most California branches encountered decreasing opposition from local militarists in the 1920s. After 1924, generals chose to work more quietly through the American Legion, but that was not a uniformly effective instrument for attacking WILPF. In response to an inquiry from the Washington office in 1925 about American Legion opposition, the San Francisco WILPF chairman replied on American Legion stationery, pointing out that her husband was an adjutant in a Legion post in San Francisco and had a slogan about the "abolishment of war." In Los Angeles, WILPF found the American Legion not at all opposed to its organizing. In 1928, the American Legion rented its hall for a big Jane Addams meeting and, wrote the Los Angeles chairperson Mills, "treated us splendidly." The Better America Federation, a super-patriotic organization based in Los Angeles that harassed many left-wing groups in the 1920s seems not to have bothered with WILPF. There were disturbing reports during 1931 that the American Legion had voted to investigate all peace organizations and as one member reported, the American Legion was "continually harping on preparedness," but members could detect little more.²²

Only one group could directly trace its demise to outside opposition and that did not come, at least directly, from the American Legion. In 1936, when Alameda women organized a small branch, a Republican women's group branded them as Communists, their leaders Russians in the pay of Soviets. "This vicious talk scared out most of the timid



Helen Marston,
1953.

souls who had joined and the women who had accepted office resigned for fear of impairing their husband's positions," the organizer reported. Marston (now Beardsley) wrote from Los Angeles in 1936, "Even in San Diego where ultra-patriotism is rampant, we have never had a meeting interrupted." The chair had received some anonymous phone calls telling her that her activities would be stopped. "She has gone right on, of course" Marston concluded.²³

Even in the absence of severe external threats, branches had to have internal strength to survive. Although the national office continually worried about possible outside pressure, it put most of its confidence in good leadership. Pro-military groups could keep peace organizations out of towns such as Alameda, but where organizers persisted they survived. By 1926, the San Diego branch had fifty members. Marston was able to attract other young women to the group who were not intimidated by anonymous phone calls and who could

guide the group through boom and bust. Marston became state treasurer and while in Los Angeles for summer sessions courses, managed to get the financial affairs of the state organization in order.²⁴

Marston balanced national discipline and responsibility with local autonomy and creativity in exactly the way WILPF wanted. In her correspondence, she reported precisely what she was doing and how, and anticipated national decisions on pending legislation so that the branch could act in concert with the national even though letters and directives frequently arrived late. She offered thoughtful suggestions on organization, was clear on how to apply pacifist principles to complex and changing situations, and tried to develop tactics that would reach other groups as well as individuals. Although Marston avoided publicity she was an able strategist and a good tactician, spoke well, and could attract others to the cause. She was not a career leader and did not wish to lead nationally. In fact, she did not do well when attempting to or-

ganize in foreign territory in the West where WILPF had no local base, but she was an exemplary local and regional leader, the type that gave some WILPF locals a strong base.²⁵

The national gradually eased the older type of club women out of WILPF. National organizer Anne Martin later wrote she thought Cumberson was an old-fashioned type of club woman and younger energetic San Francisco women would not work with her even if interested in peace. There was a wide cleft between suffragists in San Francisco after the war. One part wanted to work within the new League of Women Voters in much the same way as club women had worked earlier. Another group supported the National Woman's Party and wanted to combine peace work with active work for legal equality in other areas, such as jury and probate rights. Martin, as a NWP member, undoubtedly wanted the WILPF to move in the latter direction and she successfully replaced Cumberson as state organizer early in 1930.²⁶

Even with Cumberson gone, some

areas in Northern California that had seemed politically progressive before the war did not respond to the attempts to organize women for peace. New organizers failed several times to establish a San Francisco branch. It never had more than a few members nor functioned for more than a few years at a time.²⁷

Diversity within the women's movement in San Francisco undoubtedly contributed to WILPF's difficulty. But even the smaller and more homogeneous Palo Alto branch found it difficult to survive. Palo Alto pacifists were the first in California to organize a separate WILPF branch after World War I. In April 1922, Park called together women from five peace organizations and with the support of Jessie Jordan formed the Palo Alto WILPF. The group then bravely embarked on a campaign to "Disarm the Nursery" by opposing the sale of military toys and participated in a "No More War" demonstration on Peace Day, July 28, the anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. Park enlisted girl and boy scouts to distribute posters, convinced officials of the Peninsular Railroad to put posters in street cars, and helped secure professors and community leaders to speak. At the meeting, sixty-five persons supported the outlawry of war and urged President Warren Harding and Congress to prevent aggressive war. The group continued active through the fall, discussing international affairs, admitting new members, distributing "Disarm the Nursery" pamphlets, and discussing peace books by Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell. Then in November Park left on another extended trip. By this time, Jordan had also lost interest in the group, saying she did not care for WILPF's stand on "nonresistance." Although nonresistance, refusing to participate in war in any way, was the position of only a few members and the national

continued to keep the organization open to any woman who simply opposed future wars, some members apparently believed nonresistance might become the official policy. Annie Laurie Tait, the Palo Alto secretary, complained to the national late in December 1922, that the branch was "in a far from prosperous condition." During the spring of 1923, the group gradually faded. Meetings continued but there was little public activity. A peace essay contest held in the schools failed utterly when the only contestant did not comply with the rules. Then the chairman went on a vacation for two months and the League closed down. By November meetings seem to have lapsed. The chairman, now returned, was busy with her new home, wrote the secretary.²⁸

The group which met in 1924-1925 spent much of its time and energy erecting a peace fountain in a local park. It did hold public forums, however, purchased pamphlets denouncing anti-semitism, protested "Mobilization Day" and United States maneuvers in Hawaii, and opposed compulsory military training in state colleges. Although Palo Alto still listed twenty-five members in 1925, it is unlikely that many of them were active. The names of Jessie Jordan and several other inactive members were still on the list. The group managed to retain a presence through the 1920s, occasionally holding public forums and corresponding with the national on foreign policy, but the group never flourished.²⁹

There are no local minutes for the Palo Alto Branch in the 1930s and no correspondence with the national. The Palo Alto group was usually represented at the annual state meetings that began in 1929, but in 1933 Park was listed as secretary, the only officer. The state minutes of 1936 note that the Palo Alto branch was newly reorganized and had twenty-one members. When membership

reached its peak of fifty-three in September 1938, several other southern branches far outstripped it.³⁰

One exception to difficulty in organizing in Northern California was Berkeley. After having similar difficulties in starting in the 1920s, Berkeley WILPF began to grow in the late 1930s. By 1938, it had 185 members and was the second largest branch in the state. Unfortunately, no local minutes and little national correspondence exist for the Berkeley group.³¹

As far as the national was concerned, its strength lay in Southern California. While many of the northern branches languished, the Southern California branches seemed to flourish during the 1930s. The Los Angeles WILPF became the largest group, reaching a peak of 230 in June 1938. By 1932, the branch was so large that Pasadena women formed a separate group and by 1938, it alone had over forty members.³²

Marston had much to do with the success of WILPF in Southern California in the 1930s and in helping move progressive women into positions of leadership. By 1932, all of the branches, except for two smaller groups in Santa Maria and Ojai had new leadership based on progressive political commitment rather than women's clubs. Marston confessed to headquarters in 1932 that most groups had been doing little direct WILPF work because they were all out campaigning for Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas. Such Socialist leaders took WILPF groups into community organizing on labor and racial issues in the late 1930s and gave WILPF its first grass roots base.³³

Not all of the new leaders were young. Some, like Catherine Rumball, who headed the Santa Barbara

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"All women united against all war"

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION

*California WILPF
circulated "War
Again? No!"
leaflets in 1939.*

branch, were older Socialists who had a long record of community activity. Rumball took over chairmanship of the Santa Barbara branch in the 1930s and expanded it. Rumball had migrated from Rochester, New York, where she had worked along with her Unitarian minister husband with progressive reforms in the decade before World War I and had supported women workers in a clothing workers' strike of 1913. After the war, the Rumballs moved to Santa Barbara and by 1935 Catherine had developed a thriving WILPF branch. Ethelwyn Mills, head of the state organization in the 1930s, had a background similar to Rumball's, one rooted in progressive Christianity.³⁴

With leaders such as this, California WILPF gradually grew in membership and influence. At its peak in September 1938, it had over 1,000 members in the state, 900 of them in eleven active groups. At that time, the national, also at its peak, had only 16,000 members. Thus California was one of its most important states in terms of numbers and activities, and Los Angeles, its largest

branch, an important example of successful organizing.³⁵

That success, in part, was due to WILPF's recruitment of politically active members into its group. The growth of the Los Angeles WILPF to the leading center of the women's peace movement followed the growth of a left-wing movement in the 1930s. Traditionally, Los Angeles was a town controlled by anti-union businessmen, and unions did not gain a hold there until the 1930s when left-wing activism seemed to open up new avenues for political activity. Moderate middle class women had achieved some success in organizing women's groups in the 1890s, in part because the community was less divided by class and ethnicity than was San Francisco. The WPP, under the guidance of club women, had gained momentum during 1915. When this movement collapsed, as it did elsewhere in California in the face of the preparedness movement, it left a small group of women who supported WILPF and peace but had little organization. The ranks of individual women who supported peace

ranged from author Fanny Bixby Spencer, who wrote and published biting poems, plays, and essays against war, to Kate Gartz-Crane, heiress of the Crane plumbing fortune, known as a "Parlor Bolshevik," and a contributor of sizeable amounts of money to WILPF until she lost her income late in the 1930s.³⁶

In the late 1920s, as one Beverly Hills woman wrote to Emily Balch, WILPF seemed to be regarded as something "wild and dangerous." One 1925 list showed seventeen members, but the branch soon dwindled to inactivity and nothing was done until 1927, when WILPF sent Anne Martin to the Pacific Coast to organize. Martin recruited Ethelwyn Mills, the woman who was to help create a strong active group in Los Angeles. Mills, the daughter of a minister who was active in the YWCA and various peace and social justice movements, moved to Los Angeles in 1922 and joined WILPF in 1927. She headed the Los Angeles branch through its rebirth from 1927 to 1933 and became head of the state organization from 1930 to 1936.³⁷

Mills may have been symptomatic of the new southern rebirth of WILPF. She came from another state where she had already been active. Many other women also new to Los Angeles had WILPF contacts from other parts of the country. With their experience and commitment, and given the new political climate, the group grew rapidly. By Armistice Day 1928 the group was strong enough to stage a "Mass Meeting for Permanent Peace." Members boosted Fanny Bixby Spencer's anti-war play, "The Jazz of Patriotism" when it opened the next year and with the NAACP and other groups cosponsored more mass meetings. Los Angeles also sponsored the first Southern California Conference of WILPF in early 1929 and the first state conference in March 1930, which 225 women attended. From this time on, the Los Angeles branch became the focal point for the state. The branch organized mass meetings with well-known national speakers, mobilized a crowd of 5,000 to send off the woman's peace caravan that left from Griffith Park in Los Angeles in June 1931, and became increasingly involved in domestic justice movements. It supported labor and interracial activities, signed petitions, and provided visibility for WILPF in one of the most visible regions of the country. Los Angeles had its own printed bulletins from August 1935, to 1938 that offered information on the national and California branches, biographical sketches of members, reviews of books and movies, and strong support for issues of domestic justice. The Los Angeles branch hired the only paid worker in California, a secretary who worked on the peace mandate campaign for three months in 1935.³⁸

Leaders did not draw on respect-

able older club women for the Los Angeles group. Instead they drew from a liberal-left coalition of politically progressive women. Marston kept the Washington office informed as the Los Angeles branch moved left. Marston wrote to executive director Dorothy Detzer in 1932 that there were "a lot of freaks in the L.A. branch." She would later call them "cranks," but also many "splendid people." Marston wrote in March 1932, "With me it is not a question of W.I.L. being too radical. I have found some very out-and-out pacifists through our work. It is a question of being free to fit one's program to the local and current situation. It might be as mild as our basis for membership [opposition to war], or it might be war-resistance." Marston wrote later in the year, that Mills linked "the movement up with many fine and important people in the liberal and radical life of the city. If the group has been or seemed too left-wing to attract more club women as members, it nevertheless influences their activities." In March 1932, Marston wrote, "I think the California branch ought to be a strong force for Socialism this year, whatever else it is." Most of the chairs were working day and night for Norman Thomas, the pacifist Socialist peace candidate, she wrote.³⁹

The national leaders supported this move left. Detzer replied that she was glad socialist members were now heading the momentarily revived San Francisco branch. "Working for the socialist cause has not helped the W.I.L.," Detzer continued, "but I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that there is nothing so important for peace. I have come back from Europe quite a 'rip-roaring,' snorting, revolutionary socialist, and find myself slightly hampered by the limitations of peace work." Marston, at this time was herself helping to organize a citizen's unemployment committee and was

secretary for the San Diego Socialist Party local.⁴⁰

Marston continually urged the national to make the relationship between peace and social justice a more visible part of WILPF political theory. She advocated a strategy by which active participation in social change would provide concrete examples of how to achieve change without violence. They must, she wrote, make more emphatic their "recognition of social injustice and the need of revolutionary social changes, especially since we do make so explicit our belief in pacific as over against violent methods of effecting such changes." The groups, wrote Marston, should study the economic bases of society "to quicken within our own membership the sense of social injustice, to interpret conflict and changes as they occur, and to stimulate participation in movements of social change. Only by such participation can we hope to contribute toward the development of a technique of labor and mass movements of a pacific nature. If justice can be gained without violence, it is up to us to prove it." In a later letter she returned to the theme of broadening the membership base: "I am anxious to make the policies speak a language that ordinary people understand. It seems to me that it is a part of the positive aspect of pacifism to try to *meet people's minds*, and that one of the reasons why we fail to appeal to good and peace-loving people is because we often adopt a sort of intransigent attitude and a vocabulary which, though it is dear to us, doesn't always convey to others our meaning because of some emotional reaction they have when they hear those phrases."⁴¹

Pacifism rooted in social justice issues drew Marston increasingly into labor conflicts in Southern California. In spring, 1934, Marston had her most dramatic confrontation with large employers of migrant laborers

The Pasadena Peace Council and WILPF sponsored this lecture by Senator Gerald P. Nye, Chairman of the Senate Munitions Committee, in 1935.

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SENATOR GERALD P. NYE

Chairman of Senate Munitions
Investigation Committee

LECTURE:

WAR, MUNITIONS AND NEUTRALITY

Auspices of Pasadena Peace Council and Women's International
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when her work with the ACLU drew her into labor conflict in the Imperial Valley six times to help mediate strikes. The most dramatic visit came in February when the ACLU was attempting to mediate a grim struggle between striking pea pickers and growers. The pickers wanted to organize a union; the growers were determined to keep the workers unorganized. The ACLU obtained a court injunction to keep growers from preventing pickers organizing. Marston and other ACLU and WILPF members monitored the meeting held by the pickers to see that it remained peaceful and in the hands of the workers. They kept the ranchers, who came in their white suits and panama hats, from disrupting the meeting. With the meeting over, Marston and her friend and fellow WILPF member Etallie Wallace headed back to San Diego alone, followed by ranchers who heckled them, and harassed them by bumping their car. Marston calmly stopped at a gas station, called the sheriff, talked to the men (Wallace offered them candy), and convinced the men

to allow them to return safely to San Diego. In a newspaper report later Marston wrote, that it was a pity "that the harassed owners of the smaller ranches could not see that they have more in common with these men and women who are staking all in their effort to provide food for the children, than they have with the great many interests that control the larger ranches." To the *Wellesley Sequel* she wrote that she had found "that even the Bill of Rights may be red revolution to wrought-up California ranchers, and a strikers' meeting out on the desert a most memorable experience."⁴²

In 1935, Marston married and moved to Los Angeles, joining the freaks, cranks, and splendid people in the WILPF there. She and other new Los Angeles members made it the fastest growing WILPF in the country, with a 183 percent increase in 1934-35. The Los Angeles branch continued to emphasize social justice, supporting bills against lynching and for migratory field workers, domestic workers, and pecan shellers on strike in Texas, maintained

friendly relations with the CIO, and sent representatives to a mass meeting of longshoremen in a lockout in San Pedro. They lobbied in Sacramento and telegraphed Washington. Social justice, the leaders believed, would lead larger groups to non-violent change.⁴³

The largest direct peace initiative of the Los Angeles WILPF was participation in the 1935 Peace Mandate Campaign. The goal was to obtain one million signatures to a demand that each government favoring the Kellogg-Briand pact act on that commitment by decreasing armaments and armed forces, using existing machinery for peaceful settlement of conflicts, and securing international agreements to end the economic anarchy that WILPF believed bred war. The chair of the Los Angeles mandate committee, Mildred Thanhouser, former head of the Wisconsin Suffrage Association, launched the campaign with 11,000 signatures. Other California branches also did well on this campaign, helping to send a total of almost 35,000 signatures to Washington.⁴⁴

Branches held a series of large mass meetings after 1935. San Diego attracted 2,400, San Francisco 2,000, Berkeley 500. A series of lectures by Senator Gerald Nye was particularly successful in drawing thousands of listeners to meetings throughout the state. By 1939, leaflets were warning of a world at war.⁴⁵

The anti-war movement in California, as elsewhere, peaked in 1938. As Europe joined in war, members began to urge WILPF to move toward principles of collective security and support for the European nations that opposed Germany. Across the country, WILPF branches voted on the position they would take. At a state convention in 1938, California leaders voted twenty-nine to twenty-one against endorsing collective security. Failing in their attempt to move WILPF, many members began to withdraw. The Depression with its sharpening of class consciousness had already made some of the wealthy members less willing to support an organization that questioned a system that created their wealth and increasingly emphasized social justice. Interracial councils were a concern of the most progressive groups in Los Angeles, Berkeley, and San Diego. But war was the issue that loomed and pacifism the ideology that divided most women. San Diego alone reported the loss of forty members because of ideology in 1940. At the annual council meeting for 1940, the Palo Alto and San Francisco branches together counted only thirty-five members. By mid-1940, California had lost almost a third of its membership; by October 1941, fewer than half were left. Reflecting local defections, by 1946 the national had dropped to 4,000, only 25 percent of its former peak of 16,000.⁴⁶

Marston-Beardsley chronicled her despair as the remaining oldtimers watched the war pull members away from their cause. The departure of newer members simply reflected the move toward war. Marston-Beardsley wrote to Dorothy Detzer on May 28, 1940, after listening to the 9 p.m. news and the President's defense speech, "It marked the turning point in a great movement backward and downward. Now *we* concentrate on the destructive. The drive against 'fifth columnists' is going to be whipped up here in the usual Los Angeles spirit." She wrote again on September 24, "I realize more poignantly than before the revolution through which we have passed this summer. How much we have lost already!"⁴⁷

A small band of committed pacifists worked with WILPF through the war. WILPF sought protection for conscientious objectors, continued its interracial work, attempted to guard against persecution of the Japanese, and helped refugees from Europe. Most groups held no public meetings. Marston-Beardsley realized that old members such as herself could give WILPF stability in these hard times. She continued to give \$250 a year to WILPF in addition to her volunteer work. And she searched for new ideas to achieve growth in the postwar period. Marston-Beardsley wrote to Balch in February 1946, "New techniques are needed, in all the peace movement. I know there should be more coordination of effort." The local WILPF groups would never become more effective units in the peace movement unless new steps were taken to reorganize: "I am sure we must take them if we are to keep alive and make our contribution. The most important is one you pointed out . . . some time ago,—the need of attracting younger women."⁴⁸

Marston-Beardsley did not immediately act to achieve these goals

after the war. Her father was ill and she hesitated to leave Southern California for board meetings in the East or for international meetings. Her father died on May 31, 1946, and her husband ten days later. She attended the International WILPF Congress in Copenhagen in 1949, and worked for disarmament in the 1950s. "The deep demands of the peace movement at this time of peril use up most of my limited time and energy, and prompt even writing flyers and giving them out on street corners! I've learned what it feels like to be snubbed," she wrote to her Wellesley alumni magazine in 1958. Her statement contrasted with those of her fellow classmates who wrote of knitting, grandchildren, the Dartmouth-Yale game, garden talks and occasional social welfare work.⁴⁹

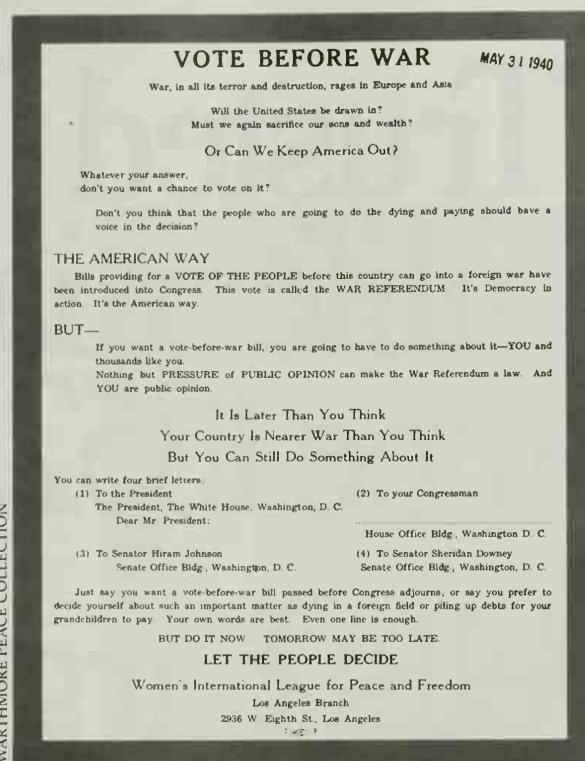
After returning to San Diego in 1960, Marston-Beardsley revived the moribund WILPF and helped found a peace center at San Diego State University. She worked with students, draftees, and farm workers, marched in anti-war demonstrations. And she wrote letters. She was delighted when her name appeared on Nixon's enemy list in the 1970s. By 1981, she lived again at the family house with her three older sisters—aged 101, 96, and 91—and went out only to attend WILPF meetings. She died in 1982 at 89.⁵⁰

What was Marston like, I asked her old friends Etallie Wallace and Florence Stevens. Wallace, who had worked with her in WILPF in the 1930s and attended Socialist Party meetings with her in an old storefront headquarters below Fifth Avenue in San Diego, replied: "She was a lady on the inconspicuous side, but was always there to be counted and was always knowledgeable about things." Stevens called her "shy, but determined and decisive."⁵¹

Marston-Beardsley was almost the ideal pacifist volunteer. Well edu-

The Los Angeles WILPF, which supported a referendum on war in 1940, urged the public to write to Congressmen and to President Roosevelt asking for a war referendum bill.

SWARTHMORE PEACE COLLECTION



cated and articulate, a lady, able to work hard, but self-effacing. Hers was a generation that took WILPF through the years between two major wars, certainly strengthened the non-military aspects of the United States, and linked peace to social justice in more concrete ways than had ever been done. She symbolized a generation that moved from an abstract commitment to peace, toward activism in the cause of peace, and began to define domestic social justice as necessary for national security. Marston summed up that change when, in January 1942, she wrote: "Within the nation, we believe the national defense means the strengthening of all the elements of genuine democracy such as freedom of speech and protection of minorities, economic and interracial justice, public health and mental hygiene, and education directed toward cooperation and responsibility."⁵²

One weakness remained, the inability of WILPF to attract young women to the group. While Marston and other WILPF leaders saw race, class, and free speech as elemental,

they did not see women's issues as particularly relevant. Suffrage, which they had supported, enabled them to work equally with men on whatever cause they liked. They assumed women had an interest in peace and a natural opposition to war and could organize together on that basis. At the beginning of 1920 Emily Balch had listed four reasons why women needed their own peace organizations: as non-combatants they were freer to work for peace during war; as caretakers and educators of children they had a unique set of perceptions; women were concerned about morals, health and social welfare; and women had greater freedom in separate organizations. Other leaders identified women as the "custodians of life," the "mother" half of the human race that should be consulted on the life of the nation, and as an excluded group that could offer new methods for the democratic control of foreign policy. But during these years WILPF avoided discussing issues that explicitly related to women. WILPF assumed women would oppose war and that

issues of social justice concerning other groups would attract them. WILPF did not explain exactly what women had to lose from war and militarism.⁵³

Marston posed the question. How could WILPF reorganize to attract young women? Neither she nor WILPF developed an answer to that question. WILPF did not develop a feminist pacifist ideology that went beyond the assumption that women would be more opposed to war than men. Leaders did not ask those questions posed by later feminist scholars. What is the interconnection between male domination and war? What is the relationship between violence in the private and public spheres? How are concepts of equality, inalienable rights, and sisterhood affected by war? Does an unequal distribution of power to women in American society increase militarism? Marston's generation would leave younger women to search for answers to those questions. CHS

See notes beginning on page 147.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Afro-Americans in California.

By Rudolph Lapp. (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Co., 1987. 112 pp. \$7.95.)

Reviewed by Douglas Henry Daniels,
Department of Black Studies, University
of California, Santa Barbara.

A considerably expanded revision of the 1979 edition, Lapp's work introduces readers to the historical and contemporary figures, institutions, and trends of Black California from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Westward migration, community formation, ghetto growth, job patterns, racial discrimination, politics, civil rights, and the Black family figure in the presentation. It is one of a number of works in the Golden Gate Series on ethnic minorities, women, labor, education, and politics and promises interpretive insights instead of definitive conclusions.

The book's strengths consist of its covering a broad span of time and its discussion of many trends and topics; its linking national issues, racial uplift, and reform efforts to California struggles and society; and its attempt to document the gradually declining racism of white Californians and the progress of the state's largely urban Black population. Occasionally the focus meanders, with nineteenth-century matters mingled with contemporary ones in the later chapters, and the tendency to focus on any subject which might be of interest is bothersome, but there are other more serious problems.

Lapp's work sheds light on the mindset of many scholars of Afro-America who cannot penetrate the fundamental contradictions of California or American society. The author reveals little understanding of white racism. His analysis fails to explain why whites were so protective of slavery and opposed to Blacks voting in a "free" state, or why Afro-Americans constituted a disproportionate percentage of the unemployed, or why the convict, George, and his brother,



The gold rush attracted the first black settlers to California. Like other goldseekers, they tried to strike it rich. Shown is a black miner working a placer deposit near Auburn, c. 1852. CHS Collections.

Jonathan Jackson, and Watts rioters acted with such desperation.

Progress in race relations is assumed to be significant when it occurs. It is perhaps to Lapp's credit that when he documents Afro-American victories, he also presents contrary evidence that blunts the thrust of his argument, and, moreover, he shrinks from assessing the significance of this dilemma. How does this situation differ from that of Blacks in New York or Texas? Such a question goes unanswered. Also, conceptual clichés abound: "middle class" is applied to janitors, waiters, and domestics; "ghetto" to housing patterns that differ considerably from Harlem or the South Side; "charismatic" to influential Black activists or successful politicians; "anti-white" to leaders and organizations which were actually only pro-Black.

Some historians will wonder about the neglect of the dominant nineteenth-century journalist and spokesman, Philip A. Bell. Surely some readers will be offended by an author who attributes the death of George Jackson to a "shootout" and falsely colors the circumstances of his brother's tragic demise by likening

it to a "wild west scenario." Lapp displays the insensitivity of a society which blames its victims when he writes of the Watts rioters that they "killed (or caused to be killed) thirty-four persons . . . mostly Black" (79)—thus relieving the police and civic officials of any responsibility for these deaths or the destruction of property.

These problems of fact and interpretation come into focus when Lapp unwittingly reveals his distance from and lack of understanding of his subject by concluding that despite progress in race relations, "white hypocrisy (real or imagined) was still lurking in the background" (103). The Black unemployed, the East Oakland infants whose mortality rate is one of the highest in the nation, and the slaves who lived on the edge of liberty in a free state deserve another kind of interpretive framework to elucidate the nature of their history and complex situation. The author correctly acknowledges that a great deal of research and new strategies are necessary to interpret properly the subject of this volume. □

*An American Odyssey:
The Autobiography of a
19th-Century Scotsman,
Robert Brownlee, At the
Request of His Children.
Napa County, California,
October 1892.*

Edited by Patricia A. Etter. (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986. 237 pp., \$23.00 cloth, \$12.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Kenneth N. Owens, Professor of History and Director of the Capital Campus Public History Program, California State University, Sacramento.

As he was concluding this reminiscent account of his life and adventures, Robert Brownlee set down his claims upon the good regard of his posterity. He wanted to be remembered as "one who never owed but if justly due, paid it immediately." He never had been party to a law suit nor to a quarrel which occasioned blows, Brownlee declared, and "was always able to take my own part." Scots to the core, this upright, honest fellow at age eighty toiled with pen and ink to give his children and grandchildren a permanent record of the adventures of his youth, emphasizing particularly his experiences as a '49er during the California gold rush. A careful observer, with his eye for detail undimmed by time, Brownlee set down his life story plainly and vividly. We are fortunate now to have his memoir carefully prepared for publication by Patricia Etter, an experienced scholar and a distant descendant of this roving boy from the Scottish lowlands.

Brownlee sailed from Scotland in 1836, at age twenty-three, arrived in New York, then followed his trade as a stone mason first by helping construct North Carolina's Capitol building, next by taking a similar job in the frontier state of Arkansas. When the construction boom

subsided in Little Rock, he tried farming for a while, and in 1848 made a brief effort at lead mining until a mine explosion nearly took his life. He was still recuperating from his injuries at Christmastime when he learned of the recent California gold discoveries. Immediately Brownlee determined to leave for California as soon as he was well enough. In March of 1849 he joined a party known as the Little Rock and California Mining Association, which travelled from Fort Smith along the Southern Trail through the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona, reached the Yuma River in late July, and made the summertime desert crossing to Warner's Ranch without great hardship.

Once in California, Brownlee established himself at the southern Mother Lode camp of Agua Fria, where he and his partners ran a store by day and a gambling hall by night, both in the same quarters. It is his description of life and times at Agua Fria during the mining boom that has greatest general interest, for Brownlee provides us with a series of social vignettes that flesh out our knowledge of that extraordinary time and place. In 1850, he claims, California possessed in proportion to population "more intelligence, more industry and law abiding principles than any other portion of the world." The reason, Brownlee continues, is that in 1849 "none but the better class of citizens could manage to raise funds to get here—the wealthy man or the preacher's son." This idyll ended, so Brownlee recalled, when Australian convicts and "the Evil world from the East" began to arrive. Yet he also declares that even in 1850 among the gambling crowd "pretty much everybody had his Colts revolver of the large size in his belt or sash," another powerful reason for good conduct.

Brownlee's account concludes with a brief narrative of his later life, which included a trip back to Arkansas to claim a bride, a sentimental return visit with his family in Scotland, and forty years

of settled success as a farmer in the Napa Valley, an occupation he began "without the least knowledge of managing, or how it should be done." Through all his recital, the author displays the same good sense and decent sensibilities that marked his gold rush adventures, coupled obviously with a native Scot's regard for turning an honest dollar. As revealed in his own words, Robert Brownlee epitomizes that type of sturdy, enterprising person who, after the gold rush excitement had begun to subside, built California's new society on a bedrock of granite.

With a minimum of fuss, Patricia Etter has done an excellent job in bringing to print her ancestor's words. Her research is exceptionally thorough, her scholarship unobtrusive, and she can give a confident assurance that at age eighty Brownlee retained an accurate memory of his adventurous years. Her own enterprise, moreover, has been served well by the University of Arkansas Press, which has done a commendable job of publishing. Not simply another account of overland travel, *An American Odyssey* places an interesting and admirable character into the historical literature related to California's gold rush era. □

*Dogtown and Ditches:
Life on the Westside.*

By Wayne Pimental (Los Banos: Loose Change Publications 1987. 133 pp. \$18.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert G. Fricke, Instructor of History at West Valley College, Saratoga, California

Local history is the framework in which to practice cultural history in an attempt to understand an area's distinctive style. Also, local history is, despite its limited geographical focus, a broad field of inquiry; it is the political, social and economic history of a community, and religious and intellectual history,

too. Wayne Pimental's *Dogtown and Ditches* meets both criteria for a local history.

The book covers, in detail, the upper west side of the San Joaquin Valley from the Yokut Indian inhabitants to the early 1900s. The emphasis is on the numerous small communities, the stories surrounding the figures in and development of these communities. The author assumes that the reader has an in-depth knowledge of California history when he refers briefly to such significant California figures as William Ralston, Isaac Friedlander, and Claus Spreckels, all of whom have had some impact on the development of the Westside.

The two major figures that the book covers adequately are Henry Miller and Charles Lux. In fact, in addition to a major chapter on Miller and Lux, their influence on the economic development of the area is covered adequately in a number of other chapters.

The writing style is typical of most local histories, that is, simplistic and unsophisticated. Mr. Pimental refers to a notable, James Toscano, as a "prime mover for a sewer service" and the chapter, "Changing World on the Westside" opens with this sentence: "The world was changing and so it was on the Westside of the Valley." The writing typifies "just plain folks."

There are a number of worthwhile features of this local history publication. The author covers extensively the political, economic and social history of a major community, Los Banos. He uses effectively oral history and local folklore in describing life on the Westside. There is considerable interesting information on the development of wheat farming, canals, and irrigation. A really outstanding asset of *Dogtown and Ditches* is the large number of fascinating photographs. Indeed, photographs are another important source of information about a locality. Photographs have much to teach us; we can observe dress, the makeup of family rooms, housing styles, fashions and genre living.

Mr. Pimental is currently working on the companion volume to *Dogtown and Ditches*. It is to be hoped that this volume will be organizationally less fragmented and more sophisticated in writing style.

□

Authorized By No Law: The San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 and the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California.

By John D. Gordan, III. (Pasadena: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, and San Francisco: United States District Court for the Northern District of California Historical Society, 1987. 71 pp., \$7.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert M. Senkewicz, S.J., Assistant Professor of History at Santa Clara University and author of *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (1986).

One of the anomalies of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856, the largest such extralegal movement in American history, was that while it operated it left the city's legal system remarkably undisturbed. The charter of the organization denounced "the quibbles of the law" and "the laxity of those who pretend to administer justice." Yet the courts continued to meet, land litigation continued to be heard, and people continued to be convicted of crimes.

The reason for this was that the vigilantes' focus was not crime at all, but rather politics. They were interested not so much in cleansing the city streets of common criminals, but in reforming, as they would have put it, the city government. They successfully attacked the local political operation of future Democratic Senator David C. Broderick. The



Matthew McAllister (1800-1865) arrived in San Francisco in 1850. An able lawyer, he was appointed U.S. Circuit Judge in 1855, serving until the year before his death. He presided over some of the most prominent cases to reach the federal courts, including many of the difficult land claim cases. CHS Collections.

harried merchants who formed the backbone of the committee were confident that once they had asserted their power and had begun to install their own political officials under the banner of their "People's Party" the courts would inevitably follow their lead. They were correct.

John D. Gordan, III, a partner in the law firm of Lord, Day, and Lord, has written a brief and informative account of how the most august court in the city, the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California, confronted some of the issues stemming from urban vigilantism.

The court encountered the committee of vigilance as a result of an incident on the night of June 21, 1856. A boatload of vigilante police intercepted a schooner bearing arms for the anti-vigilance "law and order" party as the weapons were being transported from the federal arsenal at Benecia to San Francisco. On the next day, a scuffle broke out in the city when the vigilance committee detached

some of its men to apprehend the law and order boatmen. In the melee, California Supreme Court Justice David Terry stabbed a vigilante policeman. Terry was taken into vigilante custody and put on trial at their headquarters, "Fort Gunnybags."

Circuit Judge Matthew Hall McAllister, relying, according to Gordan, on discredited precedents, issued a writ of habeas corpus for Terry, even though the justice was not imprisoned under the authority of the United States. However, probably by design, the writ was not served until the day after Terry had been released and so it had no practical effect.

In the fall, Judge McAllister presided over the piracy trial of John L. Durkee, the vigilante who had commanded the force which had intercepted the arms. The significance of the trial lay not in the verdict of innocence, which was a foregone conclusion, but in the fact that this was the first instance in which the federal piracy statutes were applied to a domestic insurrection. As such, the Durkee trial was an interesting foretaste of a problem which would occupy the federal courts on a number of occasions during the Civil War.

Gordan tells his story well. He incorporates recent research on gold rush San Francisco, and his legal scholarship is presented clearly enough so that even a non-lawyer (like the present reviewer!) can follow it easily. The well-chosen illustrations add detail and spice to the account. This book is a fine contribution on a little-known but important aspect of San Francisco vigilantism. □

California Legacy: The James Alexander Watson-Maria Dolores Dominguez de Watson Family, 1820-1980.

By Judson A. Grenier, with Robert C. Gillingham. (Carson, California: Watson Land Company, 1987. 519 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Leonard Pitt, Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, editor of California Controversies (2d edn., 1987), and author of Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (1968).

The term "family history" does poor justice to this work. This volume combines the history of gringo adventurer James A. Watson, the huge Dominguez family into which he married, and several major corporations thereafter controlled by the combined Watson-Dominguez clan. Inevitably it also becomes the economic history of the entire southern portion of Los Angeles County in the last century-and-a-half.

Professor Judson Grenier devotes about half of the space to tracking "Colonel Jack" Watson from Texas to the California gold fields and finally to Los Angeles. A prominent duelist, attorney, and "Chivalry" Democrat, Watson served in the state legislature in the stormy pre-Civil War days.

The Dominguez family owned Rancho San Pedro, a princely estate that today hosts the communities of Wilmington, Carson, Compton and Redondo Beach. Grenier shows how this Yankee-Californio family managed—in the face of natural disasters, personality clashes, litigation, death and taxes, and the shifting tides of the local economy—not only to hold onto much of its land, but to prosper even after they sold off large portions of it. Where once cattle roamed on a thousand hills there are today oil wells and refineries, factories and shopping malls.

This is truly a definitive study. The research, based chiefly on extensive business and family records deposited at California State University Dominguez Hills, as well as sources at the Huntington Library and elsewhere, is exhaustive. The copious journals of attorney Henry O'Melveny, the leading financial advisor to the family, provide a mainstay for the latter part of the book. Grenier

also combed census and land records, newspapers, books and pamphlets, and conducted numerous personal interviews. And by culling many family albums he produced a set of photos that are rich in detail.

The writing is clear and crisp, and the organization sound. The major weakness, typical of many commissioned family and business histories, is the tendency to overload the narrative with details about even obscure relations and spin-off corporations, sometimes to the point of confusion. Evidently a cardinal rule in these works is to omit no relative or corporate director from the roll call. The author, a seasoned scholar and writer, offsets the effect by interjecting strategically placed recapitulations and genealogical references.

Why did this Californio family succeed financially where others failed? Can we ever know as much about *non-elite* families? What is the process of acculturation that works for some and not others? These are some of the questions raised in the mind of the reader of this extensive and profusely researched work that will serve as a model "family" history for years to come. □

Bacon, Beans, and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier.

By Joseph R. Conlin. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1986. 246 pp., \$27.50 cloth.)

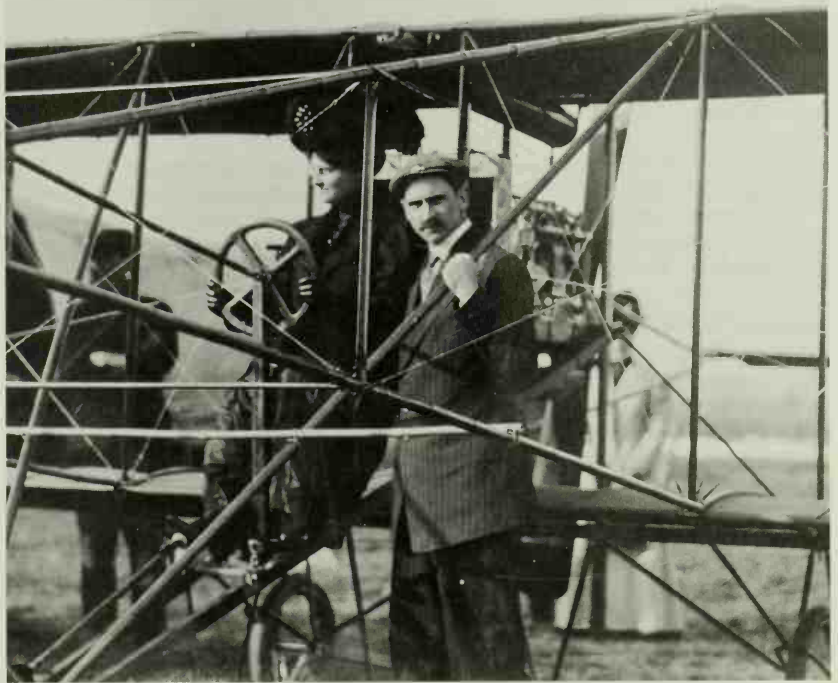
Reviewed by David Rich Lewis, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

When dealing with the settlement of the American West, few historians stop to consider how and what individuals ate as they conquered their corner of the continent. Food and the process of preparation, service, and consumption are taken for granted as automatic occur-

rences necessary to sustain life, and "too trivial" for systematic investigation. As Joseph R. Conlin points out, "... food is third only to air and water as a basis of life and, much more than the others, is an important element of culture and social relationships," (p. x). In this informative book, Conlin sets out to describe the food and foodways of miners in the American West between 1849 and 1914.

Although Conlin's history purports to cover the "western mining frontier," the majority of his work focuses on the foodways of white California miners, and on the non-corporate mining of gold and silver. Examples from Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, Alaska, and even Utah are sprinkled through the pages but serve to elaborate points made about California rather than to give a full picture of foodways elsewhere. Likewise, ethnicity and ethnic foodways receive little attention. In particular, the overland trail and sea voyage experiences of "forty-niners" bound for the gold fields comprise virtually one-third of the book. Conlin does an excellent job of describing the basic food stuffs carried and consumed by the California argonauts as well as a valuable nutritive analysis of their diets, on the trail, on ships, and in the mining regions. His discussion of disease caused by nutritional deficiencies in diet among western miners—particularly scurvy, a vitamin C deficiency resulting from the lack of fruits and vegetables—is welcome, although admittedly inferential.

While salt pork, beans, breads, and various fresh and preserved meats were the staples of the early overlanders and miners, Conlin suggests that miners rapidly developed a palate for more exotic fare, particularly galantine oysters, French *haut cuisine*, fine wines and champagnes, and later to Chinese food—partially due to the social status attached to fine foods, the amount of disposable wealth, and the taste and nutritive content of those foods. Conlin's investigation of food leads him to discuss the transportation and marketing networks



Early aviation pioneer Glenn H. Curtiss (1878–1930) and his wife at the first international gathering of aircraft and flyers held at Dominguez Field near Los Angeles in 1910. California Historical Society/Ticor Collection.

which arose to supply western mining camps, the establishment of restaurants, the nature of boarding arrangements, and the economics of food sales in the mining West. Throughout his narrative, Conlin sprinkles comments on the social and cultural elements of food and eating, but he might have taken more heed of the anthropological structures he dismisses in the introduction.

Conlin's narrative is free-flowing, topical, and well spiced with quotations. He has used a wide variety of published and manuscript diaries and reminiscences, newspapers, travel-logs, as well as photographs and secondary sources. Readers will glean many important aspects of social organization in the non-corporate mining frontier from these pages well beyond foodways while gaining a better understanding of the practical realities of cooking and eating on the frontier. □

California Wings: A History of Aviation in the Golden State.

By William A. Schoneberger with Paul Sonnenburg. (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1984. 189 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by William L. Cumiford, Curator of History at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Released four years ago by Windsor Publications, *California Wings* is an oversized volume tracing the history of flight in California from turn-of-the-century experimental dirigibles and gliders to the military testing centers and space labs of the 1980s. Out of necessity this glossy edition offers merely a narrative outline of the state's aviation saga. In under two hundred pages the author compresses early achievements in flight

as a backdrop to topics ranging from manufacturing, education, research, military aviation, and the airlines, to the many support facilities connected with airlines and aircraft.

In Part One, entitled, "Beginnings," Schoneberger elucidates the pioneering spirit exhibited by early California aviators and their supporters. The author justifiably argues that the state became a haven for air shows, flying contests, and entrepreneurship in early aircraft design and construction. In fact, the opening three chapters comprising Part One engage the reader's attention as Schoneberger vividly describes the many facets of the California landscape and lifestyle which attracted aviation innovators to the state.

However, in Parts Two and Three, respectively called "Builders" and "Operators," the author plunges into a maze of institutions, personalities, and detailed statistics on aircraft models and designs that has the unfortunate effect of overwhelming the general reader. While aircraft aficionados may peruse these sections with ease, aviation neophytes may find the complex histories of airline company mergers and manufacturers' travails somewhat tedious.

Part of the problem in keeping one's attention firmly riveted to these institutional litanies is the author's propensity to record something on virtually every company in California that ever manufactured aircraft or operated an airline. Fortunately, Schoneberger gets back on track in the closing thirty or forty pages by highlighting such absorbing topics as the role of women in California aviation, and Hollywood's use of historic aeronautical episodes in some significant film productions. The book gains strength as it departs from "company" history and focuses on subjects uniquely Californian in tone and flavor.

The photographs, though abundant, do not eclipse the text. Moreover, Windsor's photo reproduction and general lay-out work is superb. The extensive bibliography could have been bolstered

by more personal interviews, since textual references clearly establish the author's familiarity with California aviation VIPs. As with any technical study, however general, the inclusion of a glossary would greatly facilitate a clearer reading of the text. Finally, several brief appendices would prove a much more convenient format for presenting detailed statistics on aircraft dimension and design, production quotas, company mergers and liquidations, and a host of other technical data.

As a summary of a difficult and compelling topic, *California Wings* tells an interesting story of a unique and important segment in California's history. Significantly, it is not merely a rehashing of the lives of pioneer fliers, but reaches beyond the popular romantic themes of aviation to illuminate a vast technological and industrial enterprise central to the economic and social vitality of the Golden State. □

Indians of the Feather River: Tales and Legends of Concow Maidu of California.

By Donald P. Jewell. (Menlo Park, CA, Ballena Press, 1987. vi, 184 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Lee Davis, Director of the California Indian Project, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Indians of the Feather River is part local history and part local ethnography, a book about the Concow Maidu Indians written from conversations between the author and his Concow friends in the 1950s and 1960s. Unfortunately these compiled essays, first published in a local newspaper, have not been sufficiently edited for narrative flow as a book. Uneven credit is also given to the Indian sources of information. Sometimes Jewell attributes his accounts to

individuals as in the chapter "Making Babies" (Ch. 3). Sometimes he merely uses the frustrating phrases, "It is said that" (Ch. 4), "The Concow claim that" and "The story is told that" (Ch. 24). The undocumented sections were unnecessary because Jewell knew the sources. With organized and contextualized editing, this book would have been a better literary work and a more valuable documented history. The subtitle is also misleading. The book is not about the folklore of Concow tales and legends but is half history and half a description of cultural customs.

On the other hand, *Indians of the Feather River* captures an under-recorded time, place, and people. Jewell worked with California Indians in the decades after World War II when the common academic wisdom was that Native Californians knew nothing worthwhile about their culture (we know better in the 1980s). Jewell talked to traditional people, a social category recognized among every tribe in California. Most of his Concow friends are now gone and Jewell's writing is their legacy.

For the historian this book offers the hard-to-find Indian perspective on the brittle glory of early California history, the genocide, the forced dispersal of families, the covert revenge by angry Concow, the dependency of homeless refugees who traded their cultural integrity for General Bidwell's *noblesse oblige* protection, as well as brief biographies of those nineteenth century white men whom the Concow remembered for their help and friendship.

While the stories of early Concow history are horrors, the survival of their culture is recorded with appreciative simplicity: the continuing use of the sacred Roundhouse, the moral leadership of the *yeponi* headman, and the cherishing of the landscape invisible to outsiders, with its subsistence habitats and power places. Jewell also includes a literary classic by Frank Day, a Concow traditional person now gone but still revered. Day hand-wrote his tribe's origin

myth in stunning English poetry.

The drawbacks in style and scholarship of this book are unfortunate, because they were not necessary. However in terms of its valuable content, *Indians of the Feather River* is worthwhile for students of Maidu culture, and for historians who study Butte and Plumas counties, the Gold Rush, and late nineteenth century Indian-white relations in northern California. □

Religion and Society in the American West. Historical Essays.

Edited by Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez. (New York: University Press of America, 1987. 491 pp. \$36.50 cloth, \$23.75 paper.)

Reviewed by Francis J. Weber, Archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and Director of San Fernando Mission.

Although there have always been divergent definitions and views of the West, the saga of gold rush immigrants and other pioneers, of gamblers, ranchers, cowboys and Indians has tended to dominate the historical treatment of the West. In his Introduction to this collection of essays, Professor Guarneri points out that popular magazines, movies, and television have tended to prolong that rather stilted and stereotyped portrayal of the West.

And though professional historians and amateur buffs generally paint a more comprehensive and realistic picture of Western history, they also have focused much of their attention on the frontier themes of conflict, settlement, and development.

Happily, in recent years, a small cadre of local, regional and denominational historians has begun incorporating the growth and impact of religious institutions, business enterprises, and family values into the written accounts. This collection of twenty essays clearly reveals

the pivotal role religion had in shaping the character of the colorful and distinctive region known as the American West.

The group of distinguished scholars here represented explore areas where religion either influenced local life or shaped public policy. Some of these articles offer thematic or topical overviews of religion, while others dwell on particular facets of religious development.

One could hardly read and study these presentations without concluding that the West has indeed been the scene of religious events and movements which have profoundly influenced millions in the area and in the nation as a whole.

This reviewer's nomination for the best of the essays would go to that of Eldon G. Ernst, whose treatise on "American Religious History from a Pacific Coast Perspective" provides a marvelous window to the era through the plateau of bibliography.

Apart from its rich contents, there is great value in a book of this nature. It brings together a wide spectrum of informative essays that otherwise might be lost or go unrecorded in the literary shuffle. Of course, as in all anthologies, the treatment of the various topics is uneven and somewhat unrelated. But having these essays in a central sourcebook is a plus factor that far outweighs any negative considerations. □

A History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America.

By Him Mark Lai. (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986. 152 pp. \$15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Sucheng Chan, Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of This

Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (1986).

Although quite a lot had been written about the Chinese in America since the late nineteenth century, Chinese American history did not become a self-conscious field until the 1960s. Troubled by the racist or patronizing attitude of some Euro-American writers and the accommodationist views of certain pioneer Chinese American scholars, Chinese Americans who came of age in the 1960s and 1970s stressed the importance of using Chinese-language sources and oral history to capture a "true" Chinese American perspective. However, though oral history has been fruitfully exploited, Chinese-language sources have not. The excuse has been that few such documents exist, when the truth is that many would-be scholars, regardless of their ethnic origins, simply do not have a sufficiently good command of Chinese to mine that which is available.

With the publication of *A History Reclaimed*, no more excuses are acceptable. The bibliography lists over 1,300 items, including primary sources, such as the records of political, economic, and social organizations, contemporary periodicals, handbooks, directories, letters, memoirs, and autobiographies, as well as a substantial secondary literature, published in the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, and the United States (including Hawaii).

The bulk of the materials listed is held in three libraries in the San Francisco Bay area: the East Asian Collection of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, the East Asian Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and the archives of the Chinese Historical Society of America (on permanent loan to the Asian American Studies Library at the University of California, Berkeley). Had Lai been able to go through collections elsewhere in the country, he would no doubt have found many more documents.

Lai has listed the materials under twelve categories: background to emigration (78 items), the overseas Chinese (146 items), immigration and exclusion (62 items), the Chinese in America (41 items), directories (71 items), Chinese American organizations (294 items), economy and business (53 items), biographies and travel accounts (260 items), sociocultural materials (43 items), China politics (153 items), journalism (35 items), and literature (114 items). I found the listings in the Chinese in America section disappointing, because many of them are merely translations of books originally published in English—and not very good books at that. The materials in the sections on Chinese American organizations, economy and business, biographies and travel accounts, and China politics will, I predict, be the ones that historians in the future will delve into most deeply.

The primary sources will have to be used with the same care that all social historians who plumb similar materials on other groups must exercise. The secondary writings—more than eighty percent of which were published after the 1930s—must also be used judiciously, for Lai does not always indicate in his annotations what sources their authors relied upon. Because the Chinese immigrant community was fraught with dissension during certain periods of its history, it is important to know precisely what point of view an author represented and how reliable the information contained in his or her work may be. The great value of both kinds of writings, of course, is that they will allow researchers to portray Chinese immigrants and their descendants in a far more nuanced and balanced manner than has hitherto been possible. For this, we are all in Him Mark Lai's debt. In the last quarter century, more than anyone else, he has set the standards that all who claim to be students of the Chinese American experience must follow. □



James Duval Phelan (1861–1930) succeeded to his father's banking fortune. He served as San Francisco's reform-minded mayor, 1897–1901, fighting the entrenched corrupt government. He later served as a Democrat in the U.S. Senate, 1915–1921. Patron of the arts, on his death, he bequeathed his fortune and famed Villa Montalvo, in Saratoga, to aid and support budding artists and writers. CHS Collections.

James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California.

By Robert E. Hennings. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. 280 pp., \$50.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by James P. Walsh, Professor of History, San Jose State University and author of San Francisco's Hallinan: Toughest Lawyer in Town.

James Duval Phelan, perhaps California's most cultivated and well-read public personality of the early twentieth cen-

tury, would not enjoy this book. It contains a detailed, thorough, and critical scholarly assessment of one dimension of Phelan's abundant life. That dimension is Phelan as a California Democratic Party activist.

More focused than that, even, it treats Phelan within the context of that portion of the Progressive Movement with which President Woodrow Wilson associated himself. One result of this narrowing of the subject is the virtual exclusion of Phelan as three-term, reform mayor of San Francisco—perhaps his most successful political service. Phelan's achievements at honest urban governing and

progressive reform at the local level predated Wilson and, therefore, that analysis is beyond this book's bounds.

Professor Robert Henning's criticisms of Phelan are several and some are telling. He is understanding of Phelan's anti-Japanese fixation. The mania was endemic in California life. Very few were sufficiently unorthodox (like John P. Irish) to challenge the racism of the day and place. Yet, Phelan, though enlightened on most subjects which interested him, still accepted and traded in the Yellow Peril. Yes, he may have been correct in warning of Japan's military threat in the Pacific. But he discouraged sane and calm reflections upon Japanese Americans.

The list of Senator Phelan's limitations is interesting. His concept of office, according to Hennings, was that of advocate of California interests. Though less concisely stated, Phelan also saw himself as a supporter of Woodrow Wilson's legislative program. And Phelan's independence showed itself in matters related to the Irish freedom movement, a movement which did not compel Wilson's

interest or sympathy.

The author's interpretations of these matters are not flattering. Phelan's preoccupation with California interests is treated as a limitation of senatorial perspective. Full cooperation with the Democratic administration's legislative objectives is interpreted as toadyism. Likewise, Phelan's eloquent expressions for justice in Ireland are interpreted against him. The legislative toady became a foreign policy maverick which embarrassed the Wilson Administration.

A rival interpretation of the well developed data could be that Phelan tried valiantly to balance the natural demands of powerful state interests along with those of a dynamic and compelling president and those of Phelan's own heritage. Though far from successful on all fronts, Phelan owed no apologies when his Democratic Party affiliation determined his defeat in 1920.

The volume's conclusions (racism aside) are questionably harsh: Phelan and his followers occupied office but contributed little to the future welfare of the state and nation. Particularly, Phe-

lan's leadership provided no solid foundation for the Democratic Party of the future.

To Phelan, living in California was the best of all possible privileges. He once wrote that if he owned both California and heaven, he would live in California and rent out heaven. He gloried in its climate, geography, economy, society, and culture. This regional culture-in-the-making never would be amenable to cohesive party organization and dominance. Phelan's California was less of a restraint on the Senator than the author maintains.

This study began as a University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation and has been revised and expanded for publication. Professor Hennings researched numerous and rich manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library. His book is clearly written, well edited, and is the most extensive, available treatment of a worthy subject. Phelan had many notable interests and activities. Progressive politics is significant among them. □

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Bean, Walton and J. J. Rawls. *California: An Interpretive History*. 5th edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1987. \$28.95 (paper) ISBN 0-07-004209-8. Order from: McGraw-Hill Book Company; 8171 Redwood Highway; Novato, CA 94947.

Brown, James L. *Dissension in Arcady: the Bear Flag Revolt*. Santa Clara: Academy Santa Clara, 1978. \$19.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-912314-15-X. Order from: Academy Santa Clara; 2464 El Camino, Suite 407; Santa Clara, CA 95051.

Browning, Peter. *Yosemite Place Names*. Lafayette: Great West Books, 1988. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944220-00-2. Order from: Great West Books; Post Office Box 1028; Lafayette, CA 94549.

Busch, Briton Cooper. (ed.). *Frémont's Private Navy*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988. \$36.00; no shipping charges on prepaid orders, otherwise \$1.50 (CA residents add 6% sales tax). Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209-9874.

Carpenter, Virginia and Jane Mueller. *An Indexed Guide to the Works Progress Administration Project #3105 1936: A History of Orange County, California*. Santa Ana: Orange County Historical Society, 1988. \$12.50 (spiral bound). Order from: OCHS; Post Office Box 10984; Santa Ana, CA 92711.

Chandler, Arthur. *Old Tales of San Francisco*. Second edition. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1987. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN 0-8403-4385-X. Order from: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company; a division of Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers; 2460 Kerper Blvd.; Dubuque, IA 52001.

Cornford, Daniel A. *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87722-499-4. Order from: Temple University Press; Broad and Oxford Streets; University Services Building; Room 305; Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Cummins, Ella Sterling. *Story of the Flies: A Review of Californian Writers and Literature 1852-1892*. San Leandro: Yosemite Collections. A reprint of the 1893 edition. \$22.50 (cloth). Order from: Yosemite Collections; 664 Maud Ave.; San

Leandro, CA 94577.

Dillion, Richard. *Captain John Sutter: Sacramento's Sainted Sinner*. Reprint edition (formerly titled *Fool's Gold*). Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1986. \$9.95 (paper), plus \$1.50 for postage and handling. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Ditzel, Paul. *A Century of Service: the Story of the Los Angeles Fire Department*. New Albany, Indiana: Fire Buff House, 1987. \$39.95 (paper), plus \$2.00 postage. Order from: Fire Buff House; Post Office Drawer 709; New Albany, Indiana 47150-0709.

Embry, Sue Kunitomi et al. *Manzanar Martyr: an interview with Harry Y. Ueno*. Fullerton: The Oral History Program, California State University, 1986. \$17.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-930046-07-2. Order from: California State University, Fullerton; Oral History Program; Japanese American Project; Fullerton, CA 92634.

Ethnic Groups in California: A Guide to Organizations and Information Resources. Second edition. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1988. \$21.50 (plus \$1.40 tax for California residents), and \$2.00 postage. ISBN 0-912102-83-7. Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs; Post Office Box 10; Claremont, CA 91711.

Fink, Augusta. *Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land*. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1987. \$9.95 (paper) plus \$1.50 for postage and handling. ISBN 0-934136-37-8. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Fletcher, Thomas C. *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer: A History of the Bodie-Mono Lake Area in the Nineteenth Century*. Lee Vin-

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Foster, Lynn V. *Fielding's California: the mission trail, San Diego to San Francisco*. New York: Fielding Travel Books, 1988. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-688-04756-4. Order from: William Morrow & Company, Inc., c/o Wilmore warehouse; 39 Plymouth Street; Fairfield, NJ 07006.

Galen, Clark. *Indians of the Yosemite*. Walnut Creek: Diablo Books, 1988. Reprint of 1907 edition. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9607-520-1-3. Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

Gane, Sally. *Growing Up in Santa Barbara*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1988. \$10.00 (paper). Order from: Santa Barbara Historical Society; Post Office Box 578; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Gavin, Camille and Kathy Leverett. *Kern's Movers & Shakers*. Bakersfield: The Kern Foundation, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9618770-0-6. Order from: The Kern View Foundation; a division of the Kern View Community Hospital; 3600 San Dimas Street; Bakersfield, CA 93301.

Hall, Wallace W. *The California Library Services Act of 1977: personal reflections and reminiscences*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1987. \$5.75 plus \$2.00 postage and handling (CA residents add 6% sales tax). Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

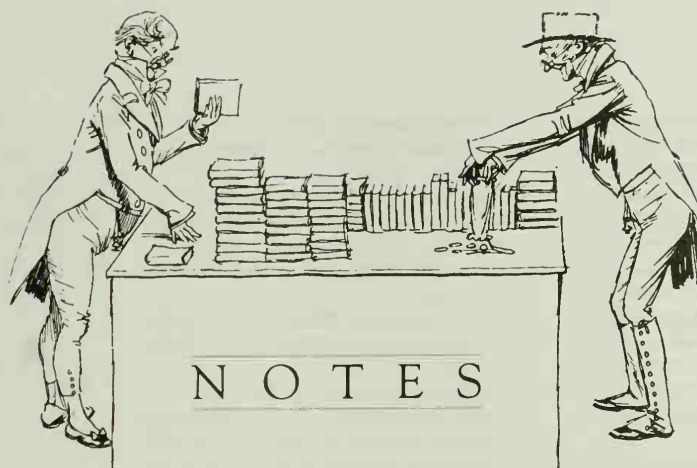
Haslam, Gerald. *Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays from the Other California*. Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1987. \$7.95 (paper) ISBN 0-915685-05-1. Order from: Devil Mountain Books; Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Heizer, Ruth Bradfute. *Bradfute Beginnings: The Story of the Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Bradfute (1749-1816?) of Scotland and Virginia*. Georgetown, Kentucky: Gateway Press, 1988. \$30.00 (cloth), postage paid. Order from: Dr. Ruth Bradfute Heizer; 419 East Main Street; Georgetown, KY 40324.

Hillman, Raymond and Leonard A. Co-

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- vello. *Cities and Towns of San Joaquin County Since 1847*. Fresno: Panorama West Publishing, 1985. \$27.50 (tax and postage included). Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.
- Johnston, Francis J. *The Bradshaw Trail*. Revised edition. Riverside: Historical Commission Press, 1987. \$12.95. Order from: Historical Commission Press; Riverside County Parks Department; Post Office Box 3507; Riverside, CA 92519.
- Lanyon, Milton and Laurence Bulmore. *Cinnabar Hills: the Quicksilver Days of New Almaden*. Santa Clara: Academy Santa Clara, 1967. \$22.00 (cloth) 0-912314-20-6. Order from: Academy Santa Clara; 2464 El Camino, Suite 407; Santa Clara, CA 95051.
- Larkey, Joann L. and Shipley Walters. *Yolo County: Land of Changing Patterns*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987. \$25.95 ISBN 0-89781-223-9. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- McQuiston, F.W. Jr. *Gold: The Saga of the Empire Mine 1850-1956*. Grass Valley: Empire Mine Park Association, 1986. \$7.95 (paper) ISBN 0-931892-07-4. Order from: Blue Dolphin Publishers, Inc.; Post Office Box 1908; Nevada City, CA 95959.
- Minnick, Sylvia Sun. *Samfow: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy*. Fresno: Panorama West Publishing, 1988. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-944194-09-5, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944194-10-9. Order from: Panorama West Publishing; 2350 East Gettysburg Avenue; Suite C; Fresno, CA 93726.
- Muir, John. *My First Summer in the Sierra*. A commemorative limited edition. Covelo: Yolla Bolly Press, 1988. \$785.00 (cloth). Order from: Carolyn and James Robertson; The Yolla Bolly Press; Main Street; Covelo, CA 95428.
- Musmann, Klaus. (comp. and ed.) *The Helen and Vernon Farquhar Collection of California and the Great Southwest: A Bibliography of Books and Journals in the Armacost Library of the University of Redlands*. Redlands: The University of Redlands, 1987. \$75.00 (cloth). Order from: University of Redlands; Armacost Library; Farquhar Bibliography; Redlands, CA 92374-3755.
- Myrick, David. *Montecito and Santa Barbara: from farms to estates*. Glendale: Trans-Anglo Books, 1988. \$42.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87046-083-8 (vol. 1). Order from: Trans-Anglo Books, a division of Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.
- Newton, Janet. *Jack London's Boyhood in Livermore*. Livermore: Livermore Heritage Guild, 1988. \$3.50 plus \$1.00 postage. Order from: Janet Newton; 2131 Chateau Place; Livermore, CA 94550.
- Powers, Bob. *Cowboy Country*. Kernville: 1988. \$20.00 (includes tax and postage). Order from: Bob Powers; Post Office Box 204; Kernville, CA 93238.
- Rice, Richard B. et al. *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. ISBN 0-394-34157-0 (cloth) \$00.00. Order from: Random House Inc.; 400 Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157.
- Gordon, John D. III. *Authorized By No Law: The San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 and the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California*. Pasadena: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, 1987. \$6.00 (paper) ISBN 0-9618731-0-8. Order from: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society; Post Office Box 2558; Pasadena, CA 91102-2558.
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- Schad, Jerry. *California Deserts*. Helena and Billings, Montana: Falcon Press Publishing, 1988. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-937959-14-6, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-937959-15-4, include \$1.50 postage and handling for each book. Orders to: Falcon Press; Post Office Box 279; Billings, MT 59103.
- Stegner, Wallace. *The American West as Living Space*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987. \$18.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-472-09375-4 (cloth), \$10.00 (paper) ISBN 0-472-6375-8. Order from: The University of Michigan Press; 839 Greene Street; Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
- Stromquist, Shelton. *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 01302-6. Order from: University of Illinois Press c/o CUP Services; Post Office Box 6525; Ithica, NY 14851.
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- Waid, Beverly Hendrickson. *My Inherited Destiny: Ten First Families of California*. Orange Park Acres: B. H. Waid, 1985. \$50.00 (cloth). Order from: Beverly Hendrickson Waid; 10686 S. Meads; Orange, CA 92669.
- Ward, Elizabeth and Alain Silver. *Raymond Chandler's Los Angeles*. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1987. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87951-266-0. Order from: The Overlook Press; Lewis Hollow Road; Woodstock, New York 12498.
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2. Sherburne F. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 5 (1937): 67-68.
3. Sherburne F. Cook, "California's First Medical Survey: Report of the Surgeon General José Benites," *California and Western Medicine*, 45 (1936): 352-354.
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5. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
8. California Mission Document 489, September 26, 1805, San Carlos de Monterey.
9. California Mission Document 495, January 19, 1806, San Carlos de Monterey.
10. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," pp. 69-70.
11. Ramo Californias, vol. 62, Bancroft Library.
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13. Ramo Californias, vol. 62, Bancroft Library.
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15. Burial Record 2082 (ano 1814), Archives of Diocese of Monterey.
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17. California Mission Document, May 9, 1808, San Carlos de Monterey.
18. Ramo Californias, vol. 62, Bancroft Library.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. Archives of California, Provincial State Papers, tomo XX, 23, Bancroft Library.
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25. Field, *Where Castilian Roses Bloom*, p. 30.
26. Burial Record 1930 (1810), Archives of Diocese of Monterey.
27. Burial Record 2082 (ano 1814), Archives of Diocese of Monterey.
28. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), II: 206.
29. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California* (San Marino, 1969), p. 205.
30. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 388.
31. Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.
32. Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 29.
33. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 632.
34. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," pp. 70-71.
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29; George D. Lyman, "The Scalpel Under Three Flags in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (1925): 148.

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38. Burial Record 2460 (1823), Archives of Diocese of Monterey.
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3. *Ibid.* pp. 90-92.
4. Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino, 1973), p. 113; San Bernardino *Daily Times*,

- November 22, 1875, reported a citizens' meeting, chaired by John Brown, favorable to approaching Southern Pacific about rerouting their main line through San Bernardino and having a depot there. Obviously the price proved too high. San Bernardino *Argus*, November 22, 1875, suggested joining with Jay Gould and San Bernardino *Times*, December 22, 1875, accurately predicted that some day there would be three major railroad lines utilizing Cajon Pass.
5. Irene Phillips, *The Railroad Story of San Diego County* (National City, CA, 1956), pp. 23, 25-27.
6. Luther A. Ingersoll, *Century Annals of San Bernardino County, 1769 to 1904* (Los Angeles, 1904), p. 257; Larry E. Burgess, "Fred T. Perris: Pioneer and Enegizer," *Heritage Tales* (San Bernardino, 1979), p. 51, note 17, cites Isaacs' editorial on the importance of the visit of Santa Fe officials.
7. L. Burr Belden, "History in the Making," San Bernardino *Sun*, May 11, 1952; May 1, 1955.
8. L.L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, KS, 1950), p.72.
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11. Richard V. Dodge and R.P. Middlebrook, "The California Southern Railroad: A Rail Drama of the Southwest," *The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, No. 80 (May 1950): 17-35; Phillips, *Railroad Story*, pp. 5-65; Douglas L. Lowell, "The California Southern Railroad and the Growth of San Diego," *San Diego History*, XXXI (Fall 1985): 245-279; XXXII (Winter 1986): 27-42.
12. San Bernardino *Valley Index*, December 3, 1880; June 3, 10, 1881. Perris had been surveying for California Southern Railroad since at least December 1880. Waters, *Steel Trails*, pp. 131-133.
13. Marshall, *Santa Fe*, pp. 184-186.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187; Thomas Nickerson to C.P. Huntington, October 30, 1883, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York; Los Angeles *Times*, August 11, 1883, citing the San Bernardino *Times*, August 7, 1883.
15. Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, August 11, 1883.
16. Los Angeles *Times*, August 11, 14, 1883, former date citing the San Bernardino *Times*, August 7; the latter, the San Bernardino *Index*, August 10, 1883.
17. Jacob Victor to Thomas Nickerson, date not noted in Waters, *Steel Trails*, p. 133.
18. Marshall, *Santa Fe*, p. 187.
19. San Bernardino County Superior Court, *Register of Actions*, Case 453, *California Southern R.R. Co. vs. Southern Pacific R.R. Co. and W.D. Co.*, 1882-1883, pp. 11, 117, 172, 212, 238, including over one hundred pages of motions, demurers, appeals, etc. Byron Waters, attorney for the plaintiffs, was also a boyhood acquaintance of Rolfe and Perris in old San Bernardino.
20. Los Angeles *Times*, August 18, 1883, citing the San Bernardino *Index*, August 16, 1883.
21. A.E. Touzalin to Collis P. Huntington, May 18, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers. Certainly the threat to build an independent railway west from Needles was a poorly veiled bluff, but Strong and his associates had come to believe the clause in the Atlantic and Pacific charter demanding connection with Southern Pacific did not preclude their also building an independent roadway. See Waters, *Steel Trails*, pp. 128-130.
22. Charles Crocker to Collis P. Huntington, November 1, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers.
23. Crocker to Huntington, November 6, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers.
24. Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, July 16, 1892, Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, July 21, 1892, Henry E. Huntington Correspondence, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
25. Jay Gould to J.W. Seligman, August 1, 1883, copy, C.P. Huntington Papers.
26. *Chicago Railway Age*, February 21, 1884.
27. Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, March 8, 1884; April 26, 1884; Collis P. Huntington to Charles Fred Crocker, July 18, 1893, H.E. Huntington Papers; New York *Times*, July 6, 1884. Actual arrangement transferring the Mojave branch was first by lease, until clear title could be secured by Southern Pacific to complete the transfer of the property to Santa Fe.
28. Frederick T. Perris to Jacob Victor, January 7, February 1, 1884, California Southern Letterbooks [letterpress copybooks], Huntington Library.
29. Franklin Hoyt, "San Diego's First Railroad: the California Southern," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIII (May 1954): 141; Bryant *Santa Fe Railroad*, p. 100; Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, November 24, 1883; April 19, 26, 1884.
30. Bryant, *Santa Fe Railway*, pp. 100-101; Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, July 31, August 9, 1884.
31. Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, August 9, October 11, December 20, 1884.
32. Perris to Victor, June 10, 1884, California Southern Letterbooks.
33. Perris to Henry H. Markham, February 8, 1885; Perris to Victor, February 23, 1885. Henry H. Markham Papers, Huntington Library; California Southern Letterbooks.
34. Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, April 18, 1885, citing *Calico Print*, on Waterman crew and San Bernardino *Index* on Colton crew, July 16, September 8, October 20, 1885.
35. Riverside *Press and Horticulturist*, November 21, 1885; Marshall, *Santa Fe*, p. 190.
36. Bryant, *Santa Fe Railway*, p. 102; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, CA 1944), p. 21, cites Southern Pacific rates between Los Angeles and Colton [70 miles] as high as between Los Angeles and Chicago.
37. Paulina B. LaFuze, *Saga of the San Bernardinos* (2 vols., San Bernardino, 1971), II: 193-194.
38. Dumke, *Boom of the Eighties* pp. 9, 23-27, 129-130, 269-270, 274-276; Los Angeles *Times*, April 5, 1896.

Ahlquist and Kolosvari, Teacher,
pp. 108-117

The authors wish to express their gratitude to Mr. Frederick Garland

Moore of Piedmont, California, for the use of his California collection.

1. California State Normal School was funded in 1857 in San Francisco, moved to San Jose in 1870. In 1921 the institute's name changed to San Jose State Teacher's College, then San Jose State College in 1935. In 1960 the College became part of the California State University, and was named San Jose State University in 1974.
 2. Writer Program: *Berkeley, The First Seventy Years* (Berkeley, California: Gillick Press, 1941), p. 2.
 3. Oscar O. Winther, *Express and Stagecoach Days in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1936), p. 28.
 4. Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg: *U.S. West. The Saga of Wells Fargo*. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1949), p. 133.
 5. *Bodie Weekly Star*, Dec. 11, 1878.
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 7. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
 8. Kroeber, Theodora: *Isi in Two Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).
- Jensen, Peace, pp. 118-131.**
1. Clippings and information on her later activities were supplied by Florence Stevens of Del Mar. The author would especially like to thank Stevens, Etallie Wallace and Lucia Simons for sharing memories and sources about Marston's life. Grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and New Mexico State Research Center enabled me to make trips to San Diego, to Stanford University, and to the Peace Collection at Swarthmore College to complete this research. Judy Adams, who is conducting oral history interviews of later Bay Area activists, generously shared her work and helped me locate information on the Palo Alto WILPF.
 2. Biographical information on Marston's father is from: Nicholas C. Polos, "George White Marston: The Merchant Prince of San Diego." *Journal of San Diego History* XXX (Fall 1984):252-278; Uldes Allen Portis, "George W. Marston and the San Diego Progressives, 1913-1917" (M.A. thesis, San Diego State University, 1976); and Mary Gilman Marston, *George White Marston: A Family Chronicle*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Ritchie, 1956).
 3. *Ibid.* II, 173, 187-221.
 4. Helen Marston to George White Marston, February 27, 1916, copy supplied by Lucia Simons. Marston did not enroll in any of Balch's classes. Balch left on sabbatical in fall 1916 and never returned to Wellesley. For an earlier but parallel influence on a California woman at Wellesley see Lisa Rubens, "The Patrician Radical Charlotte Anita Whitney," *California History* LXV (September 1986):158-171.
 5. Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, *The Sequel* 3(April 1919):60, 4(April 1920):51.
 6. *The Sequel* 2(April 1918):67.
 7. Helen Marston to Family, June 1, 1921 and Marston to Mother, August 2, 1921. Copies supplied by Lucia Simons; and Marston, *George White Marston*, II, 244-245.
 8. *The Sequel* 7(May 1923):59, 9(May 1925):24, 10(April 1926):54, 11(June 1927):38, 12(June 1928):26, 14(August 1930):22, 15(August 1931):27.
 9. Balch Diary, January, 1924, entries, DG 6, Box 7, and letter dated January 13, 1924, Box 14 Emily Green Balch Papers, DG 6, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Hereafter cited as SCPC.
 10. In discussing Helen's work briefly her sister wrote that although not a pacifist their father was sympathetic to Helen's interests and proud of her. Marston, *George White Marston*, II, 264.
 11. Letterhead listed civic leaders. See Box 2, Women's Peace Party. Hereafter cited as WPP, SCPC. For the international movement before 1915, see Sandi E. Cooper, "Women's Participation in European Movements: the Struggle to Prevent World War I," in Ruth Roach Pierson, ed., *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 51-75. For World War I see Barbara J. Steinson, *American Women's Activism in World War I* (New York: Garland, 1982) and her "The Mother Half of Humanity: American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I," in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, eds., *Women, War, and Revolution* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980).
 12. Judy Adams has underway a study of Park, one of the least studied of suffrage-pacifist leaders. Biographical information in her papers at Hoover Institute and the Huntington Library.
 13. Minute Book, "Palo Alto Branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," Stanford University Archives, Women's Peace Oral History Project, Box 1. Hereafter cited as WPOHP. Josephine Whitney Duveneck, *Life at Two Levels: An Autobiography* (Los Altos: Kaufmann, 1978); Ellen Coit Elliott, *It Happened This Way: American Scene* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940), pp. 224-227; and Sylvie Thygesan in Sherna Gluck, *From Parlor to Prison: Five American Suffragists Talk About Their Lives* (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 42-54. There is also correspondence on the Palo Alto branch from 1922-1923 in Series C.1, Box 2, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Section. Hereafter cited as WILPF, SCPC.
 14. Park to WPP, November 6, 1915, Box 2, Woman's Peace Party. Hereafter cited as WPP, SCPC.
 15. Cumberson to Thomas, November 25, 1915, DG 43, Series A, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 16. Mrs. S.M. Richardson to Addams, August 2, 1916, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 17. Cumberson to Thomas, January 2, 1916, January 14, 1916, March 23, 1917, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 18. Annie Laurie Tait to Woods, December 28, 1922, Cumberson to Woods, March 8, 1922, DG 43, Series C, Box 2, WILPF, SCPC.
 19. "Sara Bard Field: Poet and Suffragist," Interviewed by Amelia Fry, 1979, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library University of California, Berkeley. See also speaker's bureau in DG 43, Series A, Box 4, WPP, SCPC and Olmstead to Cum-

- berson, June 15, 1923, and Cumberston to Olmstead, June 23, 1923, Series C.7, Box 4, WILPE, SCPC. Parts of her 1921 speech before Congress are in Blanche Wiesen Cook, editor, *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 57–63.
20. Woods to Cumberston, March 23, 1923, DG 43, Series C, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC; Joan M. Jensen, "All Pink Sisters: The War Department and the Women's Movement in the 1920s," in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, editors, *Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920–1940* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood, 1983), pp. 199–222.
21. Typescript of debate is in Series B.4, Box 3, Santa Barbara File, WILPE, SCPC. Marston to Woods, September 21, 1924, Series C.1, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC. Ivan Deering actually organized the debate while Marston was afraid it would show their weakness. Notes from Florence Stevens.
22. Mrs. Chauncey M. McGovern, June 25 to Detzer, Mills to Detzer, May 1, 1931, Mary Whittemore to Detzer, December 6, 1931, Smith to Detzer, August 30, 1930, Series C.2, Box 7, WILPE, SCPC.
23. See correspondence in C.1, Box 16, and Blanca Biermann-Sanders to WILPE, undated, received April 27, 1936, Series C.1, Box 22, WILPE, SCPC.
24. Marston to Woods, September 21, 1924, Series C.1, Box 2; Marston to Detzer, July 9, 1925 and March 3, 1926, Series C.2, Box 7, DG 43, WILPE, SCPC. Marston-Beardsley to Olmstead, July 29, 1936, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPE, SCPC.
25. See Minutes and Reports of Annual State Meetings, California Series B.4, Box 1, WILPE, SCPC.
26. The postwar split is discussed in Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *California Women: A History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1987), p. 89. Discussions of Cumberston's organizing are in her letters to headquarters.
27. Minutes and Reports of Annual State Meetings, California Series B.4, Box 1, WILPE, SCPC.
28. See Palo Alto Minutes Folder 1922, Box 1, WPOHP, Stanford University Archives; Tait to Woods, December 28, 1922, Series C.1, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC.
29. Minutes Book, Palo Alto Branch, WILPE, WPOHP, Box 1, Stanford University Archives.
30. Minutes and Reports of Annual State Meetings, California, Series B.4, Box 1, WILPE, SCPC.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid. and 1925–1927 correspondence Series C.2, Box 7, WILPE, SCPC. No local records for the Los Angeles branch have yet been located. The Pasadena records are at the SCPC.
33. Marston to Detzer, December 14, 1932, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPE, SCPC. Some branches in other states became more moderate rather than moving left. See Brenda J. Marston, "We Want Our Vote to Count: Women's Peace Activism, 1914–1934," (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1985), which found the Wisconsin group less radical in 1924–1934 than it had been in 1922–1924. There are as yet no other state studies.
34. For Rumball's earlier activity see Joan M. Jensen, "The Uprising in Rochester," in Joan M. Jensen and Sue Davidson, editors, *A Needle, A Bobbin, A Strike: Women Needleworkers in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), pp. 94–113. For Ethelwyn Mills see *Peace Brevities*, vol. 1, no. 3 (November 1935), Series B.4, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC.
35. See Minutes for the 9th California State Convention, September 30–October 1, 1938, Series B.4, Box 1, WILPE, SCPC. Carrie A. Foster-Hayes, "The Women and the Warriors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPE," (Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1984), p. 185.
36. Fanny Bixby Spencer, *The Jazz of Patriotism* (Long Beach, CA: Mayle, n.d.).
37. Mrs. Jessie Ben Hooper to Balch, May 28, 1924, Series C.1, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC.
38. See correspondence Series B.4, Box 2 and newsletter *Peace Brevities*, 1935–1938, in WILPE, SCPC.
39. Marston to Detzer, March 1, 1932, December 14, 1932, WILPE, SCPC.
40. Detzer to Marston, December 21, 1932, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPE, SCPC.
41. Marston to Olmsted, April 3, 1933, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPE, SCPC.
42. Imperial Valley accounts from Los Angeles *The Open Forum*, 11, no. 9, (March 3, 1934); and San Diego *Union*, March 19, 1934; "HMB's Autobiographical Notes," all from Florence Stevens; and interview with Etallie Wallace; *The Sequel* 181(December 1934):29.
43. See *Peace Brevities*, Series B.4, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC.
44. WILPE, which hoped to collect one million signatures, eventually collected only 150,000 from the entire country. Thus the California branch collected over 20 percent of the entire amount. See Foster-Hayes, "Women and Warriors," pp. 370–374.
45. Reported in *Peace Brevities*, Series B.4, Box 2, WILPE, SCPC.
46. Minutes, 9th Annual State Convention, September 30, 1938, Minutes 10th Annual State Convention, September 29–30, 1939; Minutes of Annual Convention, October 4–5, 1940; Minutes, 12th Annual Convention, October 10–11, 1941; and Foster-Hayes, "Women and the Warriors," p. 641.
47. Marston-Beardsley to Detzer, May 28, 1940, September 24, 1940, Series C.1, Box 29, WILPE, SCPC.
48. Marston-Beardsley to Balch, February 15, 1946, Emily Greene Balch Papers, DG 6, Box 20, SCPC.
49. *The Sequelette*, (April 1958):10.
50. *The Sequel*, 31(May 1981):18.
51. Postwar activities in clippings supplied by Florence Stevens. Interview with Etallie Wallace, August 1986; interview with Florence Stevens, August 1986. Quote from notes supplied by Stevens.
52. Foster-Hayes, "Women and the Warriors," pp. 41–49.
53. The best analyses of women and pacifism are Micaela Di Leonardo, "Morals, Mothers, and Militarism: Antimilitarism and Feminist Theory," *Feminist Studies* 11(Fall 1985): 599–617; and Berenice A. Carroll, "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Conditions," in Pierson, *Women and Peace*, pp. 2–24.

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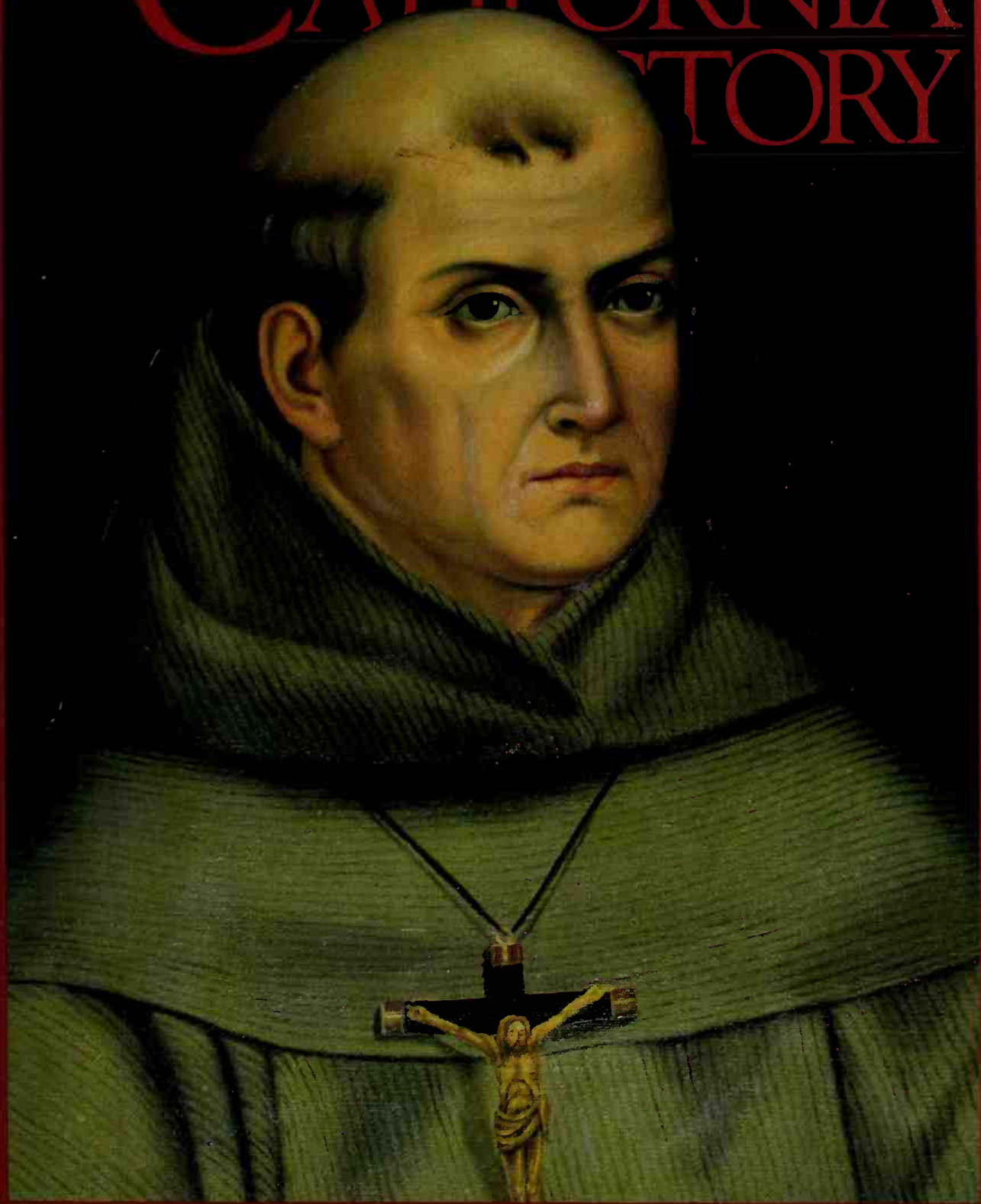
A weekend at Long Beach with "free parking" north of the pier, 1905. CHS/Ticor Collections.



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SEPTEMBER 1988

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BEVERLY HILLS' DIAMOND JUBILEE



Picking wild flowers on the site of what was to become the famed California city, Beverly Hills. CHS Collections.

On August 3, 1769, the Don Gaspar de Portolá expedition, en route to Monterey Bay, camped that night at a lovely spot which the explorer named the "Springs of the Alders of San Estevan," a site that today is part of modern-day Beverly Hills. However, it was not until sometime in the early 1820s that the area received its first non-Indian resident, retired presidial soldier Vicente Villa and his wife María Rita Valdez. About 1822 Villa received a grant to the Rancho Rodeo de las Aguas—the gathering of waters—derived from the rainy season streams that cascaded down Coldwater and Benedict canyons, which created low land swamps on the plains below.

In 1831, the rancho lands were conveyed to Villa's widow and a fellow kinsman, Luciano Valdez, and renamed the Rancho San Antonio, some 4,500 acres. Ownership between the dual owners sparked a long dispute which was not settled until 1840 when María Rita won full possession and restored the earlier rancho name, Rodeo de las Aguas.

Although the title papers were stolen in 1846, Señora Villa was able to prove her claim and the land was patented in 1871. In the meantime, two Americans, Benjamin D. Wilson and Henry Hancock purchased the rancho in 1854 for \$500 cash, a like promissory note, and a pledge of \$300 more if the land title was validated.

Wilson's attempt to farm 2,000 acres of wheat failed miserably. Disgusted with the prospect before him, he ceased further efforts. In 1865, the Los Angeles Pioneer Oil Company bought up the oil rights and drilled a few wells. In successive decades a number of farmer pioneers held lands on the now long-gone Rancho de las Aguas, among them James Whitworth, Edson A. Benedict and son Pierce, Edward A. Preuss, Henry Hancock, and Andrew H. Denker. The latter two's heirs sold the title to what is now Beverly Hills to the Rodeo Land and Water Company in 1906.

On November 14, 1906, the new corporation, under the guidance of Burton E. Greene, laid out a planned city named "Beverly" after Green's home, Beverly Farms, Massachusetts. Civil engineer Daniel S. Halliday and New York landscape architect Wilbur Cook executed the planned community which was renamed Beverly Hills on January 23, 1907.

In the years that followed, gradually residential life replaced agriculture; lima bean fields gave way to an increasingly grander way of life. Fame came swiftly after the opening of the Beverly Hills Hotel in 1912 and later by the mushrooming motion picture industry in nearby Hollywood. That future was heralded by the building of Pickfair in 1920 by Douglas F. Fairbanks for his bride, Mary Pickford. Beverly Hills quickly became the home of motion picture stars and moguls.

The great American humorist, star of Broadway and films, Will Rogers, on returning to his Beverly Hills home after a triumphant European tour in 1926, was proclaimed honorary mayor. The resultant publicity led to the community receiving cityhood by the state legislature in 1927. Thus, Beverly Hills commemorates its Diamond Jubilee in a year-long celebration, 1987/1988. Happy anniversary, BH!

(Cover) The "Queretaro Serra Portrait," possibly painted when he visited Mexico City for the last time in 1773, although there is no absolute proof. There are several errors in the painting: he had dark eyes, not greenish-gray; an olive moreno complexion, not a ruddy one; he wore an ash gray habit, not a brown one. The original painting was lost, but two late-nineteenth century oil on canvas still exist. The legend reads: "Portrait of the Reverend Fray Junípero Serra, Apostle of Upper California, copied from the original which is kept in his convent of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. Painted by Father José Mosqueda." Courtesy Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

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Non Recedet

Martin Morgado

The Story of Blessed Junipero Serra's Mission Carmel Grave

Wearing gray habit, cowl, and cord, Junípero Serra was placed in a simple redwood coffin shortly after his death at Mission Carmel on the afternoon of 28 August 1784. A stole was arranged around his neck, and a small bronze reliquary cross in his clasped hands. Indian mourners laid wreaths of wildflowers at his bier, touched rosaries and medals to the body, and began snipping small pieces of habit and hair as *recuerdos* of their departed *padre*. Francisco Palóu, Serra's associate, admonished against such "pious theft" and counseled that relics were to be associated only with canonized saints.

The next morning, all Monterey Presidio soldiers and 600 Mission Carmel Indians attended a Requiem High Mass, followed by burial in the mission church at four in the after-

Serra's Viaticum by Mariano Guerrero, 1785. The commemorative painting shows Serra kneeling, receiving his Last Holy Communion one day before his death, administered by Francisco Palóu at Mission Carmel on 27 August 1784. Due to a lack of documentation, the veracity of Serra's features remain open to question, as in all early Serra portraits. The main criticism here is that Serra's rather embonpoint features do not portray a seventy-year-old man in pain and approaching death. The original painting hangs in the National History Museum, Chapultepec Palace, Mexico City. Courtesy the author.

Memoria Ejus



noon. After the open vault in the sanctuary floor was blessed and incensed, final prayers were said and the coffin was lowered into the ground. Farewell tokens of earth were thrown in, and as the final response was sung, "the tears, sighs and cries of those assisting drowned out the voices of the chanters."¹

Many assume that Junípero Serra was buried in the present Mission Carmel Church. He knew a "stone church" would one day be built, but construction did not begin until nine years after his death. He was buried in the "Serra Adobe Church," the fifth of seven progressively more sophisticated structures built on approximately the same site.

The first church, a brush hut *enramada* used at the mission's founding on 24 August 1771, was superseded by a series of three brush/log *jacales*.² By 1783, a mud-brick adobe church was completed, containing three sandstone burial vaults on the Gospel side of the sanctuary, each measuring 7' long × 2'4" wide × 5'2" deep. Juan Crespi, Serra's longtime friend and fellow Mission Carmel priest, had been buried in the vault closest to the side wall of the church on 2 January 1782. Serra was buried in the middle vault, to the right of Crespi, on 29 August 1784.

The "Serra Adobe" was dismantled in 1793 to make way for the present sandstone edifice (a provisional

sixth adobe church was erected nearby). The burial vaults were left untouched, and incorporated into the new, enlarged sanctuary. On 16 July 1797, Mission Carmel priest Julian López was buried in the vault closest to the wall, and Juan Crespi's remains were moved to the middle vault with Serra's. The third vault, to the right of Serra's and closest to the altar, was reserved for the second father-president of the missions, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, buried on 27 June 1803.

When the final church was dedicated in September 1797, there was no reason to doubt that Serra's eternal rest would ever be disturbed. However, due to his role as California's temporal and spiritual founder, his grave would be opened five times within the next two-hundred years: on 12 March 1856; 14 January 1882; 3 July 1882; 30 August–7 December 1943; and 12–13 November 1987.

After Mexico acquired its independence from Spain in 1821, the California missions slowly disbanded. Their fate was sealed by the harsh *Reglamento Provisional* (Provisional Regulation) of 1834, a "secularization" decree authorizing termination of the mission system, and civil confiscation of all mission property. Mission Carmel slowly fell into ruin, and the last resident priest left in 1845. The church's heavy stone/wood/tile roof began to collapse in winter 1852, and the interior was badly damaged and exposed to the elements.³

Most Rev. Joseph Alemany, O.P., California's first archbishop (1853–1884), sought to organize and reclaim church property after the United States annexed California

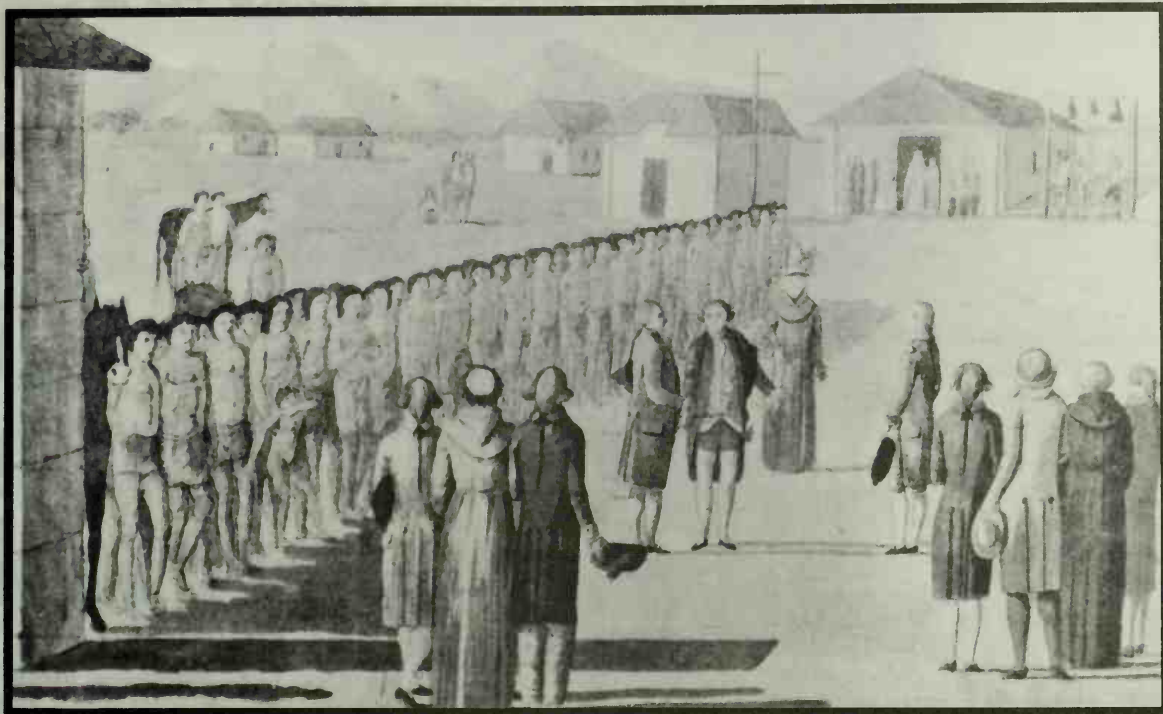
(1846), and admitted it to the Union (1850). The Spanish-born prelate was also interested in the nascent state's Spanish/Mexican past, and in 1856 he asked the pastor of Monterey's Royal Presidio Chapel, Rev. Cayetano Sorrentini (1856–1858), to reestablish the location of Serra's forgotten, unmarked grave at Mission Carmel.

Assisted by Francisco Pacheco and other interested parishioners, Fr. Sorrentini searched on 10–12 March "where Mr. Pacheco and other long-time inhabitants indicated as points to be examined."⁴ Several twelve-foot-deep trenches yielded nothing the first day. Several graves were discovered the following day, most notably that of Spanish California governor José Antonio Roméu, located on the Epistle side of the nave near the sanctuary. Finally on 12 March, Sorrentini cleared

*all the earth which was in the area of the main altar on the Gospel side. . . . We found a vault well sealed in which there was a coffin wherein were the remains of a priest wearing a stole and garments in a good state of preservation, as may be seen from the fact that the stole had braid of fine gold. This finding of a priest so richly vested, a thing which none of the others had [the day before], convinces me that perhaps these are the remains of the one for whom we are looking. . . . I considered it prudent to cover the said vault and the said exterior with stones and earth so that the devil would not tempt the squatters to do the same to the ashes of those remains as they did to the holy water and baptismal fonts, the altars and confessionals.*⁵

Nothing more is known about this first recorded opening of Serra's grave, save for Sorrentini's 1882 statement that he "unearthed and

Martin Morgado, a resident of Carmel and a second year law student at Santa Clara University, recently published a book, reviewed in this issue of the quarterly, entitled *Junípero Serra's Legacy* (Pacific Grove, 1987). He served as official photographer to the most recent exhumation of Fr. Serra's remains, buried in Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Carmel.



Mission Carmel, September 1787. Executed by La Pérouse Expedition artist Gaspard Duché de Vancy, the sketch shows the reception of the first "foreign" visitor to a California mission. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, second father-president of the missions, stands in the doorway of Mission Carmel's fifth church, the "Serra Adobe" (1783-93), where Serra was interred. To the left of the church, Serra's founding cross stands in the courtyard. To the right, Indian bellringers announce La Pérouse's arrival. Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid.

Mission Carmel, November 1794. Executed by Vancouver Expedition artist John Sykes, the sketch shows the graves of Serra and Crespi marked by a small, stout cross in the courtyard. The "Serra Adobe" was dismantled in 1793, to make way for the present stone church, completed in 1797. Its sacristy, with thatched roof to the right of the cross, was built first to train the Indian craftsmen. When the nave was built, the burial vaults were left untouched and incorporated into the new, larger sanctuary. On the far left, next to the bells, stands the provisional sixth church, used from February 1793 to September 1797. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.

discovered for the first time [in 1856] the . . . sacred remains of the Apostle, Father Junípero Serra."⁶ This was a local, semi-private event, and it seems to have been quickly forgotten, for within a few years the abandoned church was even more desolate and ruinous. After touring Mission Carmel on 31 May 1861, geologist William H. Brewer vividly described Mission Carmel's state of affairs:

Cattle had free access to all parts; the broken font, finely carved in stone, lay in a corner; broken columns were strewn around where the altar was; and a very large owl flew frightened from its nest over the high altar. I tied my mule to a broken pillar, climbed over the rubbish to the altar, and passed into the sacristy. . . . A dead pig lay beneath the finely carved font for holy water. . . . Thousands of birds, apparently, lived in nooks of the old deserted walls of the ruins, and the number of ground squirrels burrowing in the old mounds . . . was incredible.⁷

In 1870, Rev. Angelo Casanova, Royal Presidio Chapel pastor, hired local whaler Christiano Machado as resident Mission Carmel caretaker. Machado chased off squatters, tended the grounds, and began clearing three to four feet of dirt, debris and stone from within the church. He placed a simple wooden cross in the sanctuary, inscribed "Junípero Serra."

As the centennial of Serra's death approached, Casanova worked to raise money for Mission Carmel's restoration. In 1880, he began charging tourists ten cents to visit the ruins, and raised \$11.75 the first year. In 1882, he decided to relocate Serra's once again forgotten grave, hoping that its discovery would generate

more interest and restoration funds.

Working secretly with Machado on 14 January 1882, and using Serra's death entry in Mission Carmel's *Libro de Difuntos* (*Book of Deaths*) as a guide, Casanova

locate[d] the spot, . . . as near as it was possible to tell, right over Serra's grave. After digging down about three feet through accumulated dirt and rubbish the pick, in the hands of the workman, struck a board and immediately surmising that this was what he sought, he went to work carefully and uncovered several redwood boards set in evenly, and immediately over stones One of the stone slabs at the foot of the grave was broken, and the weight of the dirt and rubbish above had forced the board covering the slab to give way, filling the foot of the coffin with earth. The upper portion or head of the coffin, and contents, were in a splendid state of preservation. . . . The tibiae of the legs were calcined, the ribs of the breast were arched, yet not fallen in, the skull was unbroken and intact, and pieces of the stole (violet color) and fringes were taken up, and I [Casanova] have preserved them.⁸

With the grave relocated, Casanova organized a public viewing. On 3 July 1882, "after giving notice in the papers of San Francisco, over 400 people from the city, and from the [Monterey] Hotel Del Monte, at the hour appointed, went to [Mission] Carmelo."⁹ Casanova recorded the following:

To satisfy the desires of many people who wanted to see the graves of the Reverend Fathers buried in the sanctuary . . . and to determine by means of the very burial registers their location and remains, we [Casanova and Machado] opened the graves and found the remains in a good state of preservation. Three of the deceased were wearing their violet stoles

still in a very good state and (in one vault) one coffin was resting above another, the top coffin lying to one side. . . . The stoles we found them wearing on July 3 we took up and distributed pieces of them as mementos which the people desired. It appeared the bodies had been buried in lime, for there was much lime in the coffins and the remains were, one might say, encased in it. . . . After the examination of the remains we again covered the vaults with the same stone slabs which they had before. The vault in the middle, because there were not sufficient stone[s] to cover it, we filled with earth and it was covered like the others with the same stone flags. . . . It is to be noted that no coffin was removed or transferred.¹⁰

Serra's silk, cotton-lined burial stole (4'8" × 3" wide) is today on display in Mission Carmel Museum. Approximately twenty percent is missing, having been cut into very small pieces and distributed to those at the 1882 viewing. The remainder was for a time divided in half, and traveled a rather circuitous route before being reunited and returned to the mission in 1938. Several methods were used to establish provenance, including comparison to a third small piece in a reliquary, accompanied by a letter of authenticity signed by Casanova in 1882.

Casanova's efforts resulted in several interior restoration projects, including a new roof for the church, and burying the sanctuary graves beneath a foot of concrete and stone when raising the level of the sanctuary floor in 1883. He installed a marble plaque on the sanctuary wall near Serra's grave (removed in 1943), inscribed in Latin:

Here repose the earthly remains of the Very Reverend Father Junípero Serra,



Reconstructed cell at Mission Carmel where Serra died on August 28, 1784. The foundation and first few feet of wall are original, as are the floor tiles, although gathered from other parts of the mission. The room is furnished as described by Palou, with the replica bed and table constructed from original mission timber. The Bible and "discipline" hanging on the wall are original Serra possessions.

Mission Carmel interior, c.1870. The cross on the left side of the sanctuary marks the approximate site of Serra's grave. Courtesy Pat Hathaway Collection of California Views, Monterey.

O.S.F. [Order of St. Francis], Founder and President of the California Missions who was peacefully interred here on 28 [sic] [29] August 1784. Together with his associates R.R.P.P. [Reverend Fathers] Juan Crespi, Julian López and Francisco Lasuén. May they rest in peace.¹¹

Little more was done until the 1930s, when a program of comprehensive restoration was begun. Under the guidance of Mission Carmel Curator Sir Harry Downie K.S.G. (1931–1980), the mission compound was slowly rebuilt. The church sanctuary remained untouched until May 1943, when Downie began preliminary work to lower the floor to its original level. He located the foundation of the fifth “Serra Adobe Church,” and was about to examine the vault nearest the wall when ordered to stop by Most Rev. Philip Scher, D.D., Bishop of Monterey–Fresno (1933–1953). The bishop wanted to undertake a canonical (following Catholic Church law) exhumation of Serra’s remains, an important step in the process toward sainthood. The Canonization Cause of Junípero Serra had been introduced to the Vatican’s Sacred Congregation of Rites on 28 August 1934, but was only now gaining momentum.¹²

Serra’s secret canonical exhumation began with preparatory work on 30–31 August 1943.¹³ Downie used a compressor to break through the heavy concrete and stone slabs placed over the vaults in 1883. He carefully removed and saved the dirt Casanova placed in the middle vault, which was filled within inches of the top.

On the morning of 1 September, with the church doors locked, the

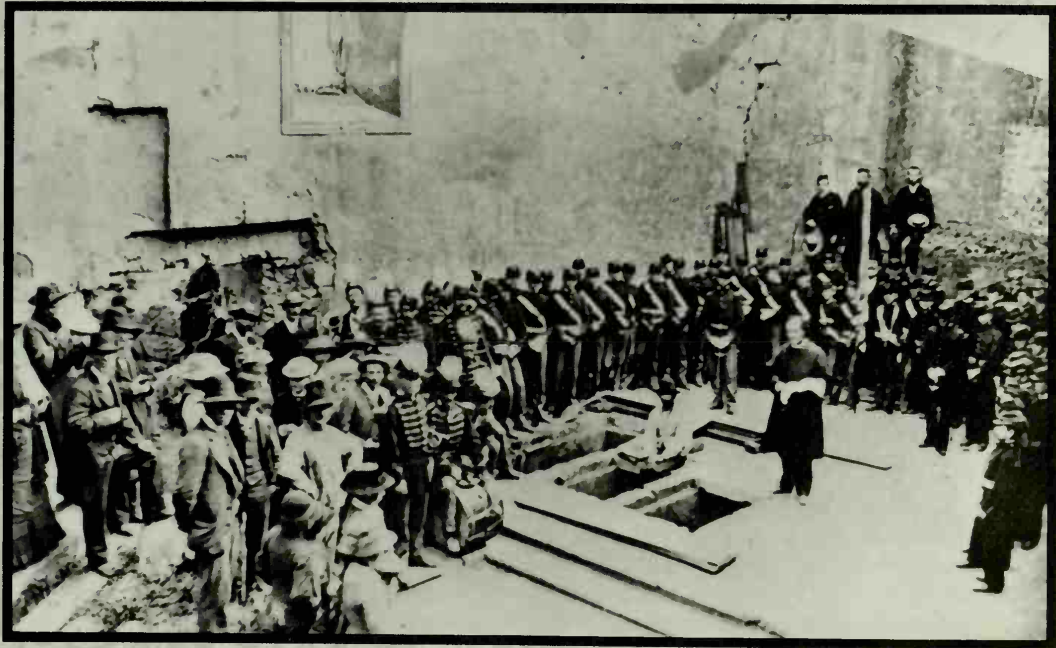
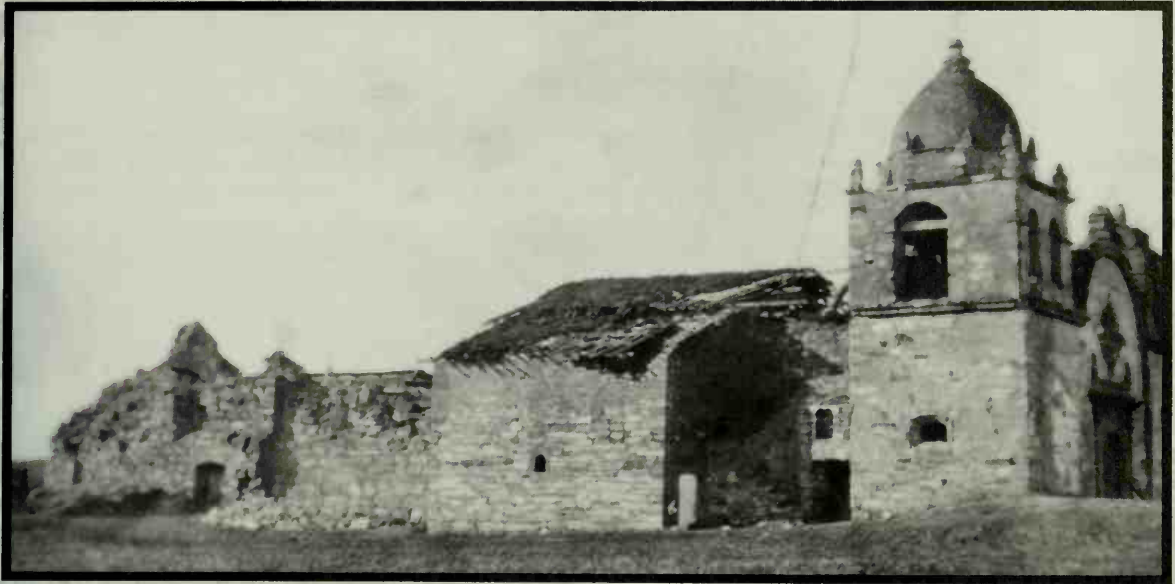
sanctuary draped from view, the tombs covered and canonically secured with wax seals, and the “oath of fidelity and secrecy” administered by Very Rev. John Durkin, V.F., Bishop’s Delegate, and Rev. Lucien Arvin, J.C.D., Promoter of the Faith (a canon law expert charged with establishing beyond reasonable doubt the validity of the evidence), the lengthy official proceedings began with the assistance of: Rev. Eric O’Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause Postulator (administrator of the Cause and liaison with the Vatican); Rev. Constantine Badeson, Ecclesiastical Notary; Major Richard Berg, M.D., U.S.A., Fort Ord, and Clemens Nagelmann, M.D., both listed as “skilled anatomical physicians;” Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D., Mission Santa Barbara archivist and historian of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara; Harry Downie, “custodian of the church and sepulcher . . . [and] skilled workman;” several “witnesses designated to point out the traditional site of Serra’s burial,” including “Joseph Mora, skilled artisan, . . . George Marion, retired actor, . . . Mrs. Mary Goold, daughter of Christiano Machado;” Sergeant Joe Hinojos, U.S.A., Fort Ord, official photographer; and several “supplementary witnesses” and church officials.¹⁴ As the investigation progressed, two anthropologists were called in to examine the remains: Theodore McCown, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; and Mark Harrington, Ph.D., Curator, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

The contents of all three vaults were removed and studied, but the primary objective was the incontrovertible identification of Serra’s remains. After five feet of dirt was re-

moved from the middle vault, the sides of a badly deteriorated redwood coffin appeared in the middle of the floor of the vault, along with a skeleton within. A small bronze reliquary cross was found among the remains. The bones were carefully removed and placed in a secretly numbered box, the same procedure used with the other remains. The anonymous bones were examined and studied by the two physicians and two anthropologists, and in a thirty-six-page report, Dr. McCown (an expert in identifying prehistoric and historic human remains) concluded:

Tradition, historical fact, anthropology, and archaeology combine overwhelmingly in establishing the identity of the cranium of the skeleton of Individual A as Father Serra . . . a short-statured, small-boned, white male European . . . over sixty years at death. He was about five feet, two inches tall, at the most . . . [a] small and wiry but well-proportioned man. . . . We can clearly identify Individual A of grave 2, the traditional Serra grave, as being the earthly remains of Father Junípero Serra. The only possible basis for reinterpretation would be detailed and contradictory evidence regarding the physique and physiognomy of Fr. Serra based upon the records or upon descriptions of him by others of his contemporaries. Until and unless this is forthcoming, I believe we may consider the identification proved.¹⁵

Due to a canonical prohibition against pathological testing during the exhumation, the McCown Report was unable to conclusively determine Serra’s cause of death at age seventy years, nine months, four days. In the opinion of Serra’s longtime associate and biographer Francisco Palóu:



Mission Carmel, 3 July 1882, showing the extent of roof and structural damage. Courtesy California State Library, Sacramento.

3 July 1882 public viewing of Serra's grave, showing Father Casanova holding Mission Carmel's Libro de Difuntos; mission caretaker Christiano Machado sitting on the edge of Serra's vault; California National Guard "Legion of Saint Patrick" Cadets; California National Guard Third Regiment Band; and audience. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.

Th[e] illness, the pain in his chest, he . . . suffered . . . for many years, from the time he was at the college [Mexico City's Apostolic College of San Fernando, where he arrived at age thirty-six, and soon after served an eight-year missionary term in the damp Sierra Gorda mountain region of Mexico], although he never complained about it or made the least effort to obtain treatment, for he paid little attention to that as the wound and swelling of his foot and leg [from an infected mosquito or "chigger" bite, inflicted at age thirty-six when he walked a tropical 275-mile stretch of Mexico's [El Camino Real]. . . . Although he never stated whether his pain and congestion of the chest really hurt him or not, I thought it actually did.¹⁶

Contemporary physicians and historians have suggested asthma or tuberculosis as Serra's cause of death, but no one is certain. However, his age, strenuous lifestyle, chest ailment, and ulcerated leg certainly add up to Palóu's simple prognosis of a "worn-out body."¹⁷

Juan Crespí's remains were also found in the middle vault, on the left side, next to Serra's redwood coffin (moved there in 1797 when Fr. López was buried in the vault closest to the church wall). The McCown Report noted that

skeleton B of grave 2 . . . was much taller, much stronger and with robust bones, all of them features which do not agree with what we are led to believe were the bodily characteristics of Fr. Serra. Moreover, the position of the remains is not to be ignored. The skull of B lay beside the thorax of skeleton A more or less in the region of the elbow. Moreover, the preserved part of the cranial vault lay base upward, as is evident from the photograph taken. These facts demonstrate that B's bones, not the corpse, had

been placed in the [vault] of Individual A.¹⁸

Final interment was at 9:30 a.m. on 7 December 1943. Crespí and López were placed in new terra-cotta caskets with copper inscription plates, and reinterred in the vault closest to the wall. Since Serra's original redwood coffin was badly damaged and deteriorated (now preserved in Mission Carmel Museum), he received a new child-size copper casket, measuring four feet, five inches long (his remains consisted of individual bones, not an articulated skeleton, so a full-size casket was not necessary). The casket had two lids, a curved outer one of copper, and a flat inner one, airtight and made of glass. At the foot of his remains, a sealed copper tube contained the following record in Latin, signed by all those present:

The remains of the Servant of God Reverend Father Junípero Serra, Apostle of California and Founder of this Mission, buried on 29 August 1784, exhumed and identified in 1943, and reinterred in this new coffin on 7 December of the same year, by authority of Most Reverend Philip G. Scher, Bishop of Monterey-Fresno.¹⁹

The casket was canonically sealed with copper wire wound through holes in the fastening bolts of the inner glass lid, and crimped at the end with a small lead rubric (a seal, impressed with a crucifix on one side, and an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the other). The outer, protective lid was closed but not sealed, and then the casket was lowered into the middle vault. All three vaults were covered with inscribed, interlocking slabs of composition stone/concrete designed and installed by Downie. Serra's head-

stone reads: "Father Junipero Serra—Apostle of California—1713–1784."

The small reliquary cross found in Serra's grave played an important role in the scientific study to identify conclusively Serra's remains. Dr. McCown wrote:

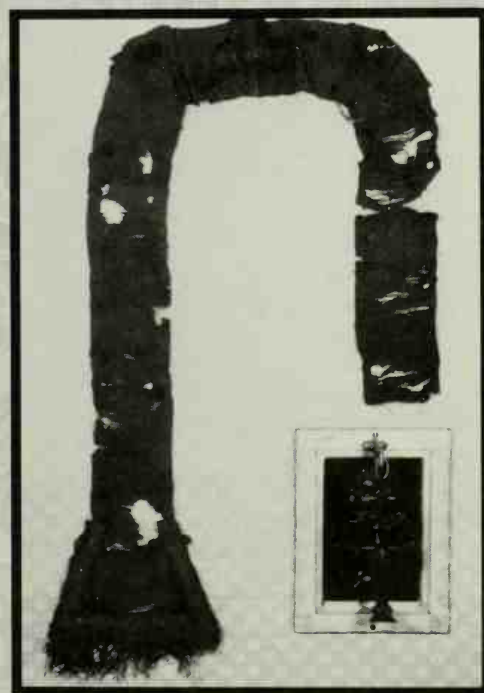
There is one prime piece of . . . archaeological [evidence]. This is the reliquary found in association with the bones of burial A in grave 2. One of the neck vertebrae is stained with green by the verdigris from a bronze cross.²⁰

After removal from the grave, it was cleaned . . . [and with] the verdigris removed, it was found to be of bronze. Within, when opened scissors-wise, there was found more verdigris and lime. The small thin pieces of glass covering . . . relics [inside the cross] were removed after which some of the writing on thin strips of paper covering the relics could be read. One of these inscriptions read: "B. Raydi M" and another "Raydi M" both . . . meaning [in Latin] Blessed Raymond Lull of Mallorca [Spain].²¹

The conclusion was:

The reliquary itself was so clearly the product of a European craftsman, probably an Italian or Spaniard, and the revelation of the object's connection with the Blessed Raymond Lull—the eponym of Serra's University of Mallorca—is evidence which no qualified archaeologist could hesitate to stress in the strongest possible way as being critical to identifying the remains with which it was found as those of a priest, a native of Mallorca.²²

The small bronze cross (4-3/4" tall × 2-1/4" wide), known as a *Cruz de Caravaca*, is today on display in Mission Carmel Museum. Legend credits the medieval *Cruz de Caravaca* with winning battles and converting Moors after a supernatural vision in 1232 revealed the distinctive double



Serra's reinterment, 7 December 1943. L-R: Rev. Constantine Badeson, Ecclesiastical Notary; Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Very Rev. John Durkin, V.F., Bishop's Delegate; Rev. Michael O'Connell, Mission Carmel Pastor; Harry Downie, Mission Carmel Curator; Rev. Lucien Arvin, J.C.D., Promoter of the Faith; Very Rev. Gregory Wooler, O.F.M., Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.

Serra's silk, cotton-lined burial stole, taken from his grave by Casanova on 14 January 1882. Courtesy the author.

crosspiece design to Gines Pérez, a priest imprisoned in the southern Spanish town of Caravaca during the Moslem occupation of Spain (711–1492).²³ The cross is also associated with Saint Teresa of Avila.

Serra's Caravaca Cross is decorated with Christ Crucified and Our Lady of Sorrows at his feet. Above Christ's head, the letters INRI, an acronym for the Latin *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* ("Pilate had an inscription placed on the Cross which read, JESUS THE NAZAREAN THE KING OF THE JEWS. The inscription in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, was read by many." John 19:19–20). Also, to the left of Christ on the lower crosspiece, the letters IHS, the first three letters of *ISHOUS*, the Greek spelling of the name Jesus. To his right on the lower crosspiece, the letters AM, a monogram for the Latin *Ava Maria, Regina* (Hail Mary, Queen). A skull and crossbones is at the base of the cross, symbolic of Golgotha ("Jesus was led away and carrying the cross by himself, went out to what is called the Place of the Skull, in Hebrew, Golgotha. There they crucified him." John 19:16–18), and also in reference to a medieval belief that the Cross was implanted over Adam's grave, with Christ's sacrifice serving to redeem mankind from Adam and Eve's Original Sin.

Most remarkable of all are the relics inside the cross, which can be seen through tiny windows on its reverse side. Nine cloth relics under glass (unsealed), have survived two hundred years of exposure, and some of their identifying marks can still be read. At least two pertain to Blessed Ramón Llull (Raymond Lull or Lully in English), thirteenth-century Mallorcan philosopher, theologian, and missionary. He is buried

in Palma de Mallorca's San Francisco Basilica, where Serra was ordained and lived for eighteen years. Most likely, the pieces of cloth were touched to his grave, thereby becoming "third-class" relics.²⁴ At some point they were brought to California, and eventually placed within the cross buried with Serra. The handwritten letters *San* (Saint in Spanish, or short for *Sanctus*, Saint in Latin), are clearly discernible over one relic, which could not pertain to B. *Raydi M* (*Beatus*, Blessed in Latin) Ramón Llull of Mallorca. However, nothing more can be read.

Serra's Cause for Canonization proceeded slowly during the next forty years. Eight-thousand pages of documents regarding Serra's life, reputation, and character were gathered and sent to Rome, and "canonical courts" were held in several California cities to interview descendants of families familiar with Serra.²⁵ As Mission Carmel's restoration neared completion, the stream of pilgrims to Serra's grave escalated. Among the illustrious visitors were President and Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower on 26 August 1956; Senator and Mrs. John Kennedy on 29 May 1960; and First Lady Mrs. Lyndon Johnson on 21 September 1966.²⁶

By August 1981, the Serra Cause documents were condensed into a 650-page *Summarium*.²⁷ The highly technical dissertation presented Serra as a formal candidate for sainthood to the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints (formerly the Sacred Congregation of Rites), a ten-member body of cardinals and archbishops appointed to consider such matters. After establishing that Serra indeed lived a life

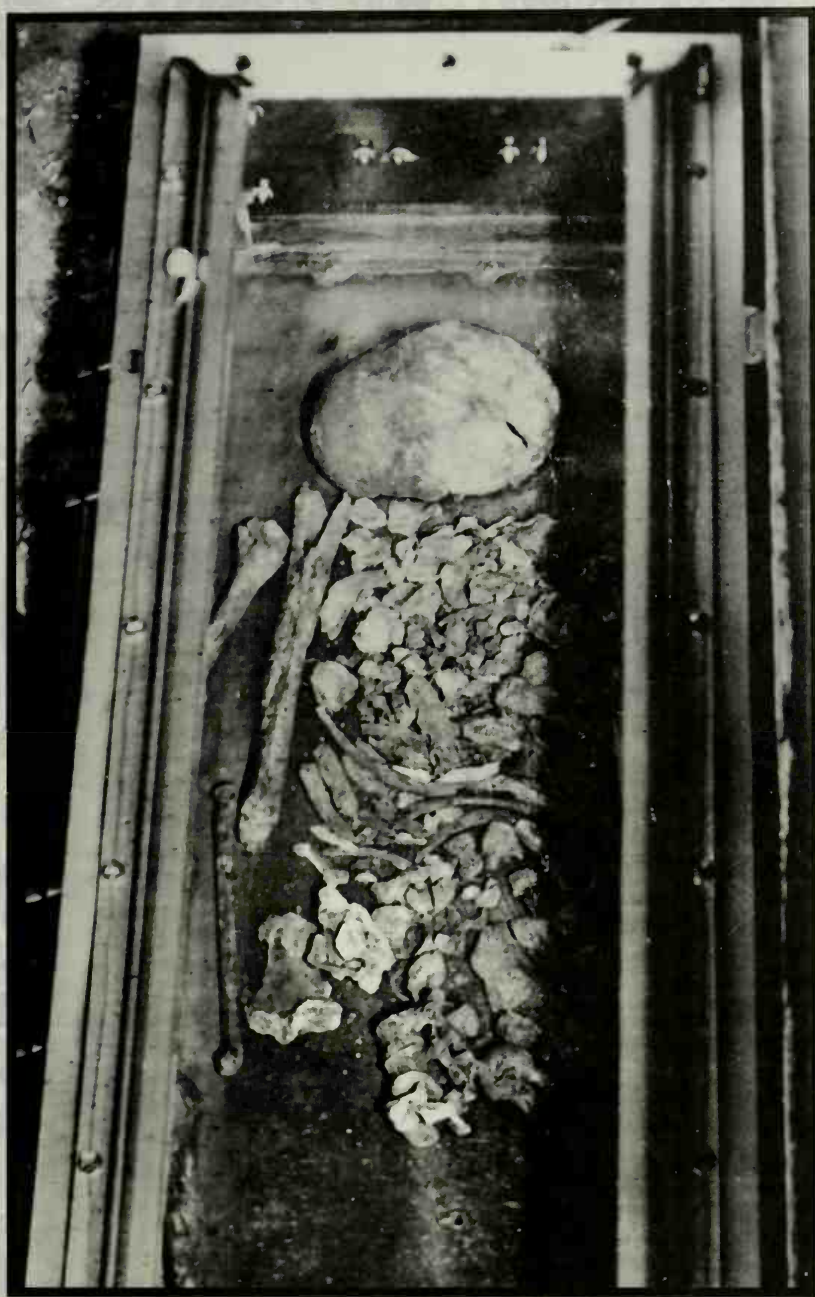
of true sanctity and "heroic" virtue (practicing extraordinary faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, and temperance), he was accepted as a candidate for sainthood on 17 February 1982.²⁸ His name was then submitted to His Holiness Pope John Paul II, with the petition that he declare Serra "Venerable" (i.e. worthy of veneration), the last major step toward beatification and canonization.

On 28 August 1984, all of California's bishops gathered at Serra's grave for a Mass commemorating the bicentennial of his death. His Eminence Timothy Cardinal Manning, D.D., J.C.D., Archbishop of Los Angeles, said in his homily:

*The seed must die in order to bear fruit. . . . This holy seed, which is the mortal remains of Junípero Serra . . . lies buried here beneath us, and out of that burial has come the flowering of the Church in California.*²⁹

On 28 August 1985, all of California's bishops once again assembled at Mission Carmel, for an outdoor Mass marking the official closing of a "Serra Year" of international events. President Ronald Reagan sent the following telegram, read by Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, D.D., Bishop of Monterey in California, and Chairperson–Episcopal Moderator of the Serra Bicentennial Commission:

I am pleased to send warm greetings to everybody participating in the solemn religious ceremonies concluding the bicentennial of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra's death. Father Serra is one of the heroes of our land. His tireless work for the Indians of California, despite distances and physical disabilities that would have daunted a lesser man, remains a shining page in our history. His



Serra's remains, 7 December 1943. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.

missions stand as a monument to his powerful religious convictions. I am proud that my own state of California has erected, in our Nation's Capitol, a statue in his honor. Mrs. Reagan joins me in wishing all of you a memorable event. God bless you.³⁰

His Holiness Pope John Paul II declared Junípero Serra "Venerable" on 9 May 1985.³¹ To proceed to the next step of beatification, all previous findings must be reviewed by the Congregation, and a search made for unequivocal confirmation of God's approval of the candidate and his life, i.e. miracles ascribed to his intercession after death. In 1960, Sister Mary Boniface Dyrda, O.S.F., of St. Louis, Missouri, was suffering from a degenerative tissue disease called lupus. She prayed to Serra and was healed.³² Her case was arduously scrutinized by a medical subcommittee of the Congregation and deemed scientifically unexplainable on 23 July 1987.³³ Now the matter would move to the full Congregation; if they accepted the medical subcommittee's findings, then the last step would be the Pope's confirmation of the miracle and his recommendation of beatification.

With only a few details remaining for acceptance of Serra's beatification, it was hoped that His Holiness would beatify Serra on the occasion of his 17 September 1987 visit to Monterey-Carmel. This did not occur, but His Holiness did visit Serra's grave, where he paused to bless it, lay a wreath, and pray. In his Mission Carmel Basilica address, he said in part:

I come today as a pilgrim to this Mission of San Carlos, which so powerfully evokes the heroic spirit and heroic deeds of Fray Junípero Serra and which enshrines his mortal remains. This serene

and beautiful place is truly the historical and spiritual heart of California. All the missions of "El Camino Real" bear witness to the challenges and heroism of an earlier time, but not a time forgotten or without significance for the California of today and the church of today.³⁴

Serra's Cause for Canonization continued to move forward after the Pope's visit. On 12-13 November 1987, Serra's remains were once again disinterred from his grave. This was done for the purpose of *canonically identifying the remains of the Venerable Servant of God, Junípero Serra, for the purpose of preserving his remains, and, looking forward to his approaching beatification, for the purpose of recovering small parts separated from the body to satisfy the devotion of the faithful.³⁵*

Hadn't this been done in 1943? Technically yes, but the rules governing canonical exhumations were much stricter at that time. They prohibited removal of any bone fragments until the candidate had been accepted for beatification, ensuring against premature veneration. The Pope is traditionally the first to venerate the remains of a newly beatified Servant of God, which takes place during the beatification ceremony. Afterward, minuscule fragments are appropriately encased and distributed to the faithful as relics of the "first class." So, it was necessary to exhume Serra's remains once again, also serving as an opportunity to reconfirm the 1943 findings.

Canon law also dictated why the exhumation must again be "secret." Such events are to

be done in a completely private manner without any pomp and without any sign or indication of public worship; moreover, the remains are not to be ex-

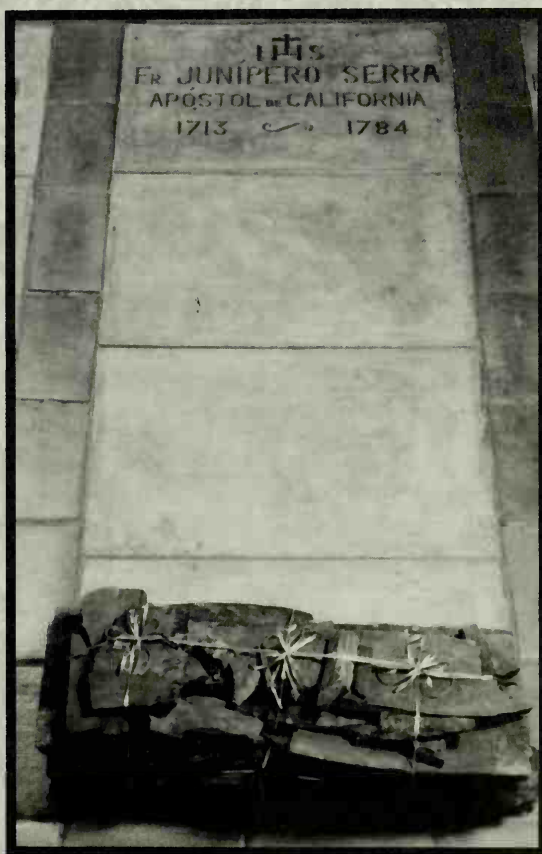
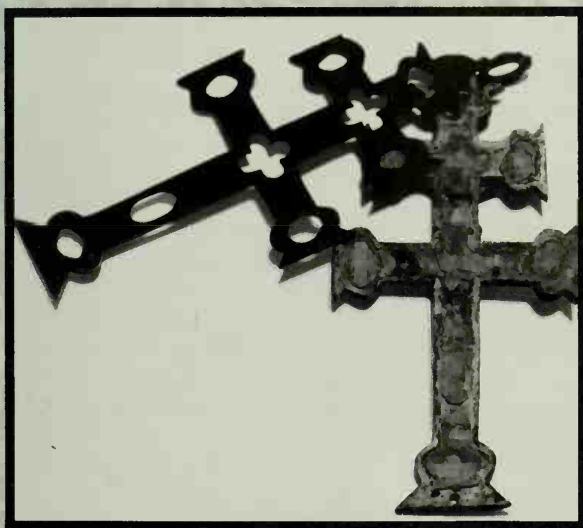
posed for public devotion until after the solemn beatification.³⁶

Work privately began at four in the afternoon on 12 November, under the direction of Monterey Diocesan Curator and Mission Consultant Mr. Richard-joseph Menn. With his assistants, Huu Van Nguyen and Tu Van Thanh, he carefully pried off the tiles around Serra's grave. The three were soon joined by Robert Farley, Monterey Diocesan Director of Cemeteries; Jesse Rubio, San Carlos Cemetery, Monterey; and Jess Valdez, Calvary Cemetery, Hollister. The author was also present as photographer of the event.

Now began the delicate task of removing the four interlocking stone slabs that covered the vault. The late Harry Downie, Mission Carmel curator during the 1943 opening, had shared the "secret" of unlocking the stones with Menn. Menn believed the entire process would not take more than three hours. However, it soon became clear that hand tools alone were not enough, for Downie had apparently affixed the stones to several inches of concrete, creating a single, impregnable mass almost one foot thick. Skill saws were brought in, and each stone was slowly separated from the next.

By 8 p.m., the first small hole had been sawed and chiseled completely through to the interior of the vault. The smell emitted was akin to humus, not from the remains, but from the sealed sandstone vault and its earthen floor. With a flashlight, light was shined down where none had been for nearly forty-five years. Five feet below the surface of the sanctuary, the faint outline of Serra's casket could be seen.

At approximately 10 p.m., the first massive slab, the headstone, was



Serra's bronze burial reliquary cross, taken from his grave during the 1943 canonical exhumation. Courtesy the author.

Reverse side of the open reliquary showing nine cloth relics under glass. Courtesy the author.

Serra's Mission Carmel sanctuary grave and remnants of his original 1784 redwood coffin. Epitaph reads: "Fray Junípero Serra—Apostle of California—1713-1784." Courtesy the author.

lifted off. The modern copper casket, its gray-green lid covered with dust and stone chips, looked incongruous in such historic surroundings. The second stone was free by 11 p.m., and in the interest of time and preservation of the gravestones, it was decided to raise the casket at an angle, rather than remove all four stones and raise it horizontally. With the proper straps attached, the casket was brought to the surface about 11:30 and placed on a table in the sanctuary. How small it looked, even for a child-size casket. There were two lids, an unsealed outer copper one, and a sealed inner glass one. Neither was opened. The sanctuary was tidied, and the church vacated by midnight.

As a rare precaution that night, all doors were barred from within, and final exit was made via a side door in Our Lady of Bethlehem Chapel. The door had two methods of locking: a modern push button lock, and a cumbersome antique lock and key dating from mission days. Both were used, and the antique key, the only one in existence, was entrusted to Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, Bishop of Monterey.

On Friday 13 November, a faint drizzle fell as "Closed for Construction" signs were posted on the main church doors. At 9 a.m., those invited to attend assembled in Mission Carmel's inner quadrangle. Bishop Shubsda unlocked the side door and entered, followed by: Rev. Thomas Kieffer, Orat., Monterey Diocesan Promoter of Justice; Rev. Noel Moholy, O.F.M., S.T.D., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Rev. Msgr. Francis Weber, archivist, Archdiocese of Los Angeles; Rev. Francis Guest, O.F.M., Ph.D., archivist, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Rev. Msgr.

Eamon MacMahon, pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica; Rev. Joseph Conran, S.J., associate pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica; Osman Hull, M.D., forensic pathologist, Monterey; David Huelsbeck, Ph.D., physical anthropologist, Santa Clara University; Virginia Klepich, Monterey Diocesan Ecclesiastical Notary; Joe Hinojos, official photographer for the 1943 exhumation (Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., retired Serra Cause vice-postulator, is the only other living 1943 participant, but was too ill to attend); Miriam Downie, daughter of the late Mission Carmel Curator Harry Downie; Edward Soberanes, descendant of an early Spanish family associated with Mission Carmel; and all those present the night before.

The proceedings began with a short prayer. Then, oaths of secrecy were individually administered by Bishop Shubsda, binding until he absolved them. Joe Hinojos was the first called forward to the sanctuary. He stood at the open vault and testified that this was indeed where Serra's remains were buried forty-four years ago.

Richard Menn was then called forward to recount the details of the previous day's vault opening and casket removal. He stressed the fact that the casket was not opened, nor could it have been disturbed during the night due to the intricacies involved in locking the church.

Virginia Klepich, notary for the proceedings, then read aloud from the official "Act" (the account) of the 1943 exhumation. She read a summary prepared at that time by Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause vice-postulator. Next, a history of Serra's grave prepared at that time by Harry Downie, Mission Carmel curator. Therein, Downie recounted

how the bones had been removed, identified, examined, and reinterred in the new casket. And finally, excerpts from the McCown Report were read, detailing how the anthropological/medical team had conclusively identified Serra's remains.

After measuring the casket to corroborate the 1943 record, Bishop Shubsda raised the outer lid. The inner lid was a bit opaque, but Serra's remains were clearly visible through the glass. The bones were all at one end, having shifted when the casket was raised at an angle.

Now came the crucial moment of "inspect[ing] the box [casket] diligently to verify the identity of the seals . . . to certainly verify that the remains taken out are truly those of the Venerable Servant of God."³⁷ If the seal was violated, all 1943 findings could technically be invalidated, which would stall the Cause indefinitely. The copper wire wound through holes in the fastening bolts of the inner glass was unbroken, and the lead rubric (seal) at the end was intact! Bishop Shubsda and Fr. Kieffer compared the 1943 mold to the seal, and both matched. The Bishop placed the mold (a small crucifix with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the reverse) into the impression, for a perfect fit.

Bishop Shubsda cut the seal and unwound the wire encircling the inner lid. The bolts were unscrewed, the lid raised, and the remains fully exposed. Dr. Hull and Dr. Huelsbeck came forward and slowly removed the bones, carefully placing each one on a linen-covered table.

When this was done, the other participants were invited forward to



His holiness Pope John Paul II laying a wreath at Venerable Junípero Serra's grave on 17 September 1987. Courtesy Monterey Peninsula Herald.

observe. They looked in the empty vault, at the casket, and finally at the bones. One hundred and thirty-two pieces were spread out, a few complete, most fragments, all a discolored medium-to-dark brown. The skull, with well-defined cranial ridges, was only partially intact, the lower face and jaw having been broken when Casanova filled the vault with dirt in 1882.

Reflecting on Serra in this manner imparted a sense of awe. This was the "Apostle of California," a mythic, legendary, and even controversial figure. The paucity of physical remains contrasted sharply with the heroic proportions of a magnificent legacy.

The two doctors meticulously examined each bone, and as they identified it by name, it was checked against a 1943 inventory and compared to photographs taken at that time. From simple visual examination, it was impossible to gather any additional information as to Serra's cause of death.

The experts discovered that the bones had absorbed a bit of moisture, not from the 1943-1987 period, but from 1882-1943, when they were covered with dirt. When they were hermetically sealed in 1943, they were sealed along with the moisture. The floor of the casket had oxidized in part, turning green where the bones had touched its unprotected surface. The decision was made to remove the rubber gasket around the inner glass lid, so that air could circulate when the casket was once again sealed. Also, an electric dryer was brought in, and the bones and casket were thoroughly dried. Had there been more time, the ideal treatment would have been a several-day drying period. This

was discussed and planned for the near future, because once Serra was beatified, his remains would be permanently reinterred in a more appropriate setting, such as in Mission Carmel Basilica's main altar. The bones would be treated again at that time.

The examination was finished by noon. Now began the process of reinterment. The bones were returned to the casket and arranged at one end, to prevent movement when the casket was lowered at an angle into the vault. Small bits of bone were kept aside by Vice-Postulator Moholy, and placed in a small silver box for transport to Rome. The table linen that held the bones was carefully brushed, and the dust placed in the silver box. The linen itself, now a "third-class" relic, was also entrusted to Fr. Moholy.

The copper tube with the 1943 Latin statement, opened and resealed after a 1987 English statement was also placed within, was returned to the casket. Signed by all present, the new statement read:

On the 12th day of November, 1987, in the mission of San Carlos Borromeo del Río, in the city of Carmel, California, the tomb of the Venerable Servant of God, Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., was opened and the coffin was removed. On the 13th day of November, 1987, in the same mission the coffin was opened and the bones were examined by Forensic Pathologist, Dr. Osman Hull and Anthro/Skeletal/Paleontologist, Dr. David Huelsbeck. Father Noel Moholy, O.F.M., Vice Postulator for the cause of Father Junípero Serra, O.F.M., took small pieces of bone for future veneration. All the above was done in conformity with the Rescript (Tab. N. 658-30/987) dated July 17, 1987, from the Con-

gregation for the Causes of Saints and the Instruction (July 20, 1987) from the same Congregation in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.³⁸

The bolts on the inner glass lid were fastened, and once again wire was wound through them. At the end of the wire, a new lead rubric was poured, and while the metal was still molten, it was stamped with the Monterey diocesan coat of arms (bishop's mitre over Serra's 3 June 1770 Monterey founding cross, planted on a hill over a crown signifying See City etymology [Monterey = "King's Mountain"], flanked by the mission's two bells announcing Christianity's arrival). The outer lid was closed, unsealed as before.

A photograph was taken of the historic assemblage, and then the casket was lowered into the vault. The two large tombstones were refitted, sealed, and the tiles around the grave reaffixed. Bishop Shubsda concluded the ceremony at 2:30 p.m. with a prayer for Serra's beatification.

On 1 December 1987, the full ten-member plenary session of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints voted that Sister Mary Boniface Dyrda's 1960 cure was the result of Serra's intercession, i.e., "miraculous."³⁹ The matter then moved to the Apostolic Palace for Papal consideration.

On 11 December 1987, His Holiness Pope John Paul II confirmed all previous findings and approved the beatification of Venerable, soon to be Blessed Junípero Serra, O.F.M., S.T.D.⁴⁰ That ceremony took place at St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City on Sunday 25 September 1988. "*Non recedet memoria ejus.*"⁴¹ CJS

See notes beginning on page 205.



Bishop Shubsda inspecting the lead rubric seal of Serra's casket before it was opened on November 13, 1987. He has placed a small cross, the original 1943 mold, into the impression in the lead, for a perfect fit.

Serra's 13 November 1987 exhumation. L-R seated: Ruu Van Nguyen, assistant to the curator; Rev. Noel Moholy, O.F.M., S.T.D., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Miriam Downie, daughter of the late Mission Carmel Curator Sir Harry Downie, K.S.G.; Rev. Msgr. Francis Weber, archivist, Archdiocese of Los Angeles; Rev. Joseph Conran, S.J., associate pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica. Standing L-R: Osman Hull, M.D., forensic pathologist, Monterey; David Huelsbeck, Ph.D., physical anthropologist, Santa Clara University; Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, D.D., Bishop of Monterey; Virginia Klepich, Monterey Diocesan Ecclesiastical Notary; Joe Hinojos, official photographer for the 1943 exhumation; Rev. Thomas Kieffer, Orat., Monterey Diocesan Promoter of Justice; Edward Soberanes, descendant of an early Spanish family associated with Mission Carmel; Richard-joseph E. Menn, Monterey Diocesan Curator and Mission Consultant. Courtesy the author.

David Beesley

FROM CHINESE TO CHINESE WOMEN & FAMILIES

Ta Yow, Ah How, Lu Loi, Lonnie Tom, and Fannie Gin were Chinese women who lived in Nevada County, California before 1920. As with most Chinese women in America they do not have a history—if, by this, one means historians have not paid them much attention. Belonging to the first two generations of Chinese in California, they represent an important transition occurring in this overseas Asian community. These women, and a small number of other Chinese immigrants living in the Sierra Nevada, changed from being members of an insular, sojourner-oriented group, into Chinese Americans. If their lives can be considered as representative, by studying them we can broaden our understanding of Chinese immigration to America, and the families that developed from these immigrant origins.¹

The number of women of Chinese descent in the United States before 1920 was small, representing less than 5% of the Chinese who lived in the United States between 1850 and 1924. Until recently, not much has been written about these women, presumably because of a lack of primary source material. But this is not true. Information was available, but historians seemed to have lacked interest in pursuing such research.²

In the 1960s, new attention to the



CHINESE AMERICAN

IN A SIERRA NEVADA TOWN



study of ethnic groups other than just Euro-Americans increased, and this interest, coupled with the effects of the women's movement in America, has produced a significant body of new writing concerning Chinese women. In addition, interest in studies of local history—spearheaded by European and American social historians—has served to focus attention on the lives of women such as those mentioned above.³

In Nevada County, California, manuscript census materials from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 provide data about Chinese women and families. In addition, letters, newspapers, inquests, trial data, published and unpublished secondary data, and oral interviews also illuminate their lives.

The censuses show that at least 400 women of Chinese descent lived in Nevada County between 1850 and 1920. Others went uncoun­ted because census takers tended to undercount when it came to those of Chinese descent. Enumerated or not, these women either came to Nevada County from China, or were children born in the United States to Chinese parents.⁴

Those who emigrated were part

Ah Gin, a successful Glenbrook farmer in Nevada County, with his family. Courtesy the author.



China Street in Grass Valley, date unknown. Courtesy Nevada County Historical Society (hereinafter cited NCHS).

of the 8,800 Chinese women estimated to have come to the United States by 1880. These women of the pioneer generation of Chinese in America made up about 5% of the total Chinese population in the United States. Before 1880, many were likely to have been prostitutes. After 1880 they increasingly were the wives or children of resident Chinese males. Nevada County women of Chinese descent fit this description generally, although some census evidence for female heads of households exists.⁵

Economic development of the Sierra Nevada provided employment for Chinese and non-Chinese

alike between the 1850s and 1860s. The most important economic activities included mining, railroad, and timber related industries, commercial enterprises, and urban service. Most counties in the Sierra Nevada suffered a significant loss of their Chinese residents with the decline of placer mining and the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad. Mining and railroad building had provided the largest number of jobs for the Chinese immigrant males. But Nevada County, along with Calaveras, Mariposa, Placer, Sierra, Trinity, and Tuolumne counties, saw many Chinese remain because of other economic opportunities.⁶

In the case of Nevada County, employment possibilities in the lumber and hydraulic mining industries, vegetable gardening, and domestic or commercial service occupations provided an economic base for the

development of relatively stable "China Towns" in Nevada City, Grass Valley, Truckee, Washington, and North San Juan. It was in, or close by, these urban centers that most women of Chinese descent in Nevada County lived. Their lives illustrate, at least for the other stable Chinese communities of the Sierra Nevada, changes in the Chinese pioneer generation.⁷

The census data from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 list women of Chinese descent in several different ways. These include an ambiguous designation called "at home," which from context, that is, several young women living together but not listed as wives or children, probably meant that they were prostitutes. In some instances children were given this

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Evidence of an organized boycott of Chinese labor in Nevada City, one which failed in 1882. However, a like effort succeeded in Truckee. Courtesy NCHS.

same designation, but are clearly distinguishable from the likely prostitutes. Only the census for 1870 listed prostitutes specifically. Another category was wife or keeping house.⁸

In 1880, the census listed ten women from Truckee as railroad workers. Because no other women are listed from that busy rail and lumber center for that year, and the women are listed on the same page as a number of male railroad workers, it is reasonable to assume that the census taker was in error. The women probably belong in other categories.⁹

Because most of the women in Nevada County before 1880 were likely to have been prostitutes, and because some of the first wives came from this occupation group, let us consider them first. The manuscript census tells us something about

their ages. The oldest of these women was fifty, the youngest, fourteen; their average age was twenty-four. Some of the prostitutes had young children, listed as born in California. These abstract numbers do not tell us very much about the lives of these women, but recently published studies make it clear that their lives were frequently short and cruel.¹⁰ To give content to their experiences, one has to move beyond the census to newspaper accounts, trial data, and inquests.

These sources show that Chinese prostitutes in Nevada County faced several possibilities in their lifetimes. These included kidnapping or legally supported abduction, violent confrontations with "clients," murder, suicide, or abandonment in sickness. A sixth, and probably more pleasant prospect, was marriage or some other escape from

prostitution. The focus here will be on the first and last of these possibilities.¹¹

The threat of kidnapping or legally supported abduction of women was a common problem. Brothel operators and pimps, aided by lawyers, used illegal and legal methods to seize or secure the return of unwilling women, some of whom could have been legally married at the time they were abducted. For example, in 1861, the Nevada (City) *Journal* reported an attempted abduction of a Chinese woman. As it stated, a man named Ah Wau had been charged with theft by another man called Ah Cut. While Ah Wau was in jail, Ah Cut abducted a woman named Ah Soo who had been purchased earlier



The celebration of Bomb Day, a popular Chinese event, in Grass Valley, date unknown. Courtesy NCHS.

by Ah Wau for \$400.00. Ah Cut then sold the woman for \$300.00. Under protest at his trial, Ah Wau convinced the authorities that he was the victim of a plot.¹²

The court sent for Ah Soo to testify. But Ah Cut arranged for another woman to impersonate her. This woman claimed that she had not been kidnapped, but instead had gone willingly with Ah Cut. Ah Wau, fortunately, exposed the impersonator. After the real Ah Soo was brought to court, she testified that she had been kidnapped by Ah Cut. The judge then dismissed charges against Ah Wau and married him to Ah Soo at their request.¹³

A similar case that year involved the arrest of three Chinese women in Nevada City on a charge of grand larceny by a Sacramento policeman. A newspaper account stated that it was "the usual complaint," implying

that the ruse of charging a woman with a crime so as to have her held until brothel keepers could arrive with a lawyer, was commonly employed. After control was secured, the charges were dropped and the women were forced back into prostitution. The newspaper said, "They are probably abducted, as one of the women has been living as the wife of an industrious Chinaman some months, in this city." The paper commented on the loud wails and lamentations of the women as they were taken away.¹⁴

In 1873, a similar use of the legal system to kidnap a Chinese woman led to violence. Ah Quee, of the mining town of North San Juan, tried to secure control of a Truckee woman named Sin Moy. Under Ah Quee's prompting, the town constable and a four-man posse entered the Chinese section of Truckee to try

to arrest her. The residents of this Chinese quarter formed together to prevent the outsider from accomplishing his purpose. A melee ensued in which about forty shots were fired. Ah Quee and several others were wounded, but Sin Moy was still taken into custody and returned to Ah Quee. A similar incident occurred in Truckee in 1874, and six Chinese were wounded in that struggle. Other battles over control of Chinese women were reported as common in Grass Valley and Nevada City.¹⁵

In 1876, a Chinese woman named We Lane was kidnapped from North San Juan by two men named Ah Goon and J. L. Lockwood. They took the woman to Yuba County, but were compelled to bring her back. In the hearing that ensued in Nevada City, witnesses included Euro-Americans and Chinese, men as well as women. A prominent political



A view of Washington in Nevada County. The community's Chinatown is in the lower right hand corner of the photograph. Courtesy NCHS.

figure and judge from North San Juan spoke in her behalf, suggesting that the woman was probably not a prostitute at the time, but instead married to a local man of Chinese descent.¹⁶

A theme common to these accounts was that Chinese women could be treated as property and coerced into prostitution. One of the women had been kidnapped and taken to Marysville. Others were falsely charged with theft, which could lead to abduction by men using the California legal system. Some of these women were probably married, but were still threatened by such practices. Kidnapping was common in areas outside of Nevada County, as a study of Chinese prostitutes in America shows.¹⁷

This same study also claims that women who had been prostitutes usually were accepted without

stigma after having left the occupation.¹⁸ This was probably true of the women mentioned above, especially Ah Soo and We Lane. In their cases, the incidents ended happily. Others, however, were not so fortunate.

The use of marriage, coupled with arrest, to help secure control of Chinese women was probably employed in Nevada and surrounding counties. This is shown by analysis of a series of telegrams found in neighboring Sierra County. A regular retrieval system appears to have extended from the state of Nevada into the California counties of Sierra, Nevada, Yuba, and Placer. Men of both Chinese and Euro-American descent from Downieville, Nevada City, and Marysville regularly corresponded by telegraph to speed up the process of securing control of women.¹⁹

Three telegrams concerning one

incident in particular illustrate this point. In 1874, a wire was sent from Marysville to Downieville between Fook Sing and Tie Yuen stating: "I saw the woman but have not arrested her. Send marriage certificate." The return from Tie Yuen says: "Will send the certificate next stage." A month and a half later Tie Yuen sent a telegram from Downieville to Nevada City to Fook Sing and an E. Berry asking: "Is the woman in jail or not. If she is I will send money. Answer quick."²⁰

Marriage apparently provided an escape from prostitution for many Chinese women in Nevada County. This marked the beginning of the trend away from that occupation as the dominant pattern



for women of Chinese descent. Information drawn from oral interviews from the Chinese community in Grass Valley, newspaper accounts, and county marriage certificates seem to confirm this. The manuscript census data for 1860, 1870, and 1880 list a small number of women who were either living with men, were wives, or were daughters of women of Chinese descent.²¹

Twenty-seven marriage certificates involving Chinese men and women, primarily from Nevada City, Grass Valley, Truckee, and North San Juan, exist for the time from 1850 to the 1880s. The average age of the women listed on these certificates was twenty-two. For the males it was thirty-one. All were natives of China. Some of these women may have been prostitutes, and a few of these marriages could have

been for the purpose of securing their control. Several newspaper accounts of marriages of Chinese couples, such as a woman named Ah How, and a hotel cook named Ah Sam, show that many of the marriages were clearly legitimate.²²

Some of the more successful vegetable farmers, store keepers, regularly employed laborers, service workers, gamblers, or physicians purchased women or married those who had successfully escaped brothels or the control of criminal tongs. Some of these men may have been already married, but had left their first wives behind in China. Some, having acquired enough money, returned to China, but not before, reportedly, selling the wives they had married in California. If for some reason return to China became impossible, men, who were already married, stayed with their wives ac-

quired in America either as childless couples or raised a second family. There are also stories of men from Grass Valley, who could qualify to visit China and return to the United States under the restrictions of the 1882 immigration law, who brought back women for other men whom they swore were their wives.²³

The earliest census data for Nevada County shows that wives or women keeping house were included in the Chinese population, even if prostitutes predominated. By 1900, prostitutes had disappeared, and wives and California-born daughters were the only women listed. The women listed in the census years from 1860 to 1900, who were not prostitutes, were listed as living with gamblers, physicians, washmen, and merchants.²⁴

Nine women in the 1870 census, including one prostitute, had chil-



A relic from the past. A sign from the Sing Lee Laundry, Chinatown, Nevada City. Courtesy the author.

John Tinlay of Grass Valley. Courtesy the author.

A young Chinese Woman of Nevada City. Courtesy NCHS.

dren. All of these children were California born. Most of these had been given Chinese names, with the exception of one child of a married woman living with a Truckee gambler. Their male child was called Colfax and had been born in California. It would seem that he had been named either for President U.S. Grant's vice president, Schuyler Colfax, or for a town named after him that lay on the railroad line connecting with Truckee.²⁵

In 1880, forty-one women were clearly designated as wives, keeping house, or daughters in the census. Their average age, excluding daughters, was twenty-nine, making them slightly older than those listed earlier as prostitutes. There were nine female children, all but one being California born. The women listed as wives or at home were associated with men whose oc-

cupations included merchant or grocer, laundryman, carpenter, farmer or gardener, miner, doctor, woodchopper, and banker. Obviously, not just merchants had wives or women living with them. Any occupation which provided a regular income made it possible to establish a relationship in the United States with a Chinese-born woman or marry a California-born daughter of another Chinese man.²⁶

The census of 1900 revealed a fundamental change in the Chinese community in Nevada County. Because of the exclusion acts passed since 1882, the total number of Chinese was drastically reduced. The anti-Chinese movement in the eastern end of the county at Truckee had

driven all Chinese from that area. Similar actions in the western part had failed, however, and hydraulic and other mining continued to provide employment for miners, and income for merchants and service workers. But still, the drop in numbers of those of Chinese descent was significant.²⁷

This reduction was not as readily apparent in the ranks of women of Chinese descent, however. They remained at about 4% of the population. The number of wives was fourteen. Their average age was thirty-six, making them much older than those who had preceded them. They were listed as having fifteen children, all but one born in California. The women reflected the reduced economic opportunities of the area and times following exclusion, since their husbands were miners (probably employers of other Chinese),



merchants, physicians, or farmers.²⁸

This census shows that families had become the reality for the more fortunate of those of Chinese descent in Nevada County. This same data, so ideally suited for quantitative analysis, also lends itself to looking at individuals. In one case, it shows that a daughter of a sixty-three-year-old physician kept house for her father and a 13-year-old brother. Both of these children were born in California. In another, it tells of a woman named Mary Yew, aged thirty-five, who was married to a farmer. They had nine children, four girls and five boys, ranging from age nineteen to age one. Two boys of nine and thirteen were said to be at school. All of the children had first names that were Euro-American and not Chinese.²⁹

In the 1910 census the average age of women had increased to forty-

one. There were more children listed in that year, and all had been born in California. These ranged from the age of twenty-five down to one. Of the fifteen wives listed, eight did not have children. Three of these were beyond child-bearing age, however. Mary Yew was still listed, but now as head of household. She raised vegetables with her children on a farm south of Grass Valley. The occupation category of the husbands of the other women were merchant, miner, teamster, farmer, laundryman, and cook.²⁹

From 1910 to 1920, census data, oral interviews, newspapers, and published secondary sources available on the Chinese of Nevada County, illustrate the changing nature of this small Chinese community. Four areas—Nevada City, Grass Valley, Washington, and You Bet—provided an economic base for

its survival. Instead of a community consisting primarily of bachelor males and a few prostitutes, as it had been from 1850 to 1880, family life was a fact in fifteen cases.³¹

Seven of the families had children, some of whom were attending or would soon attend public schools. A few of these were taking some kind of Chinese language instruction privately in the larger communities. While many of the males heading households had been born in China, most of the women with children had been born in California. In one case, a teamster and his wife, both born in California, had three sons who were also California born. This made for two generations whose direct contact with Chinese culture was limited.³²

Four accounts of Chinese families illustrate the transition that occurred between 1880 and 1920 as descen-



Photographs of two Nevada County Chinese, Wong Sing (lower) and Ah Fi (upper) for purposes of securing re-entry to the United States, a requirement after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Courtesy the author.

Young Chinese man, resident of Nevada City. Courtesy NCHS.

dants of the Chinese-born moved towards becoming American citizens. The process was uneven, old ways conflicting with new, as in all immigrant communities. In 1883, Hi Loy of North San Juan and his wife were charged with cruelty by a Nevada County court. They had tried to bind the feet of their daughter so as to make her more desirable for marriage. As a report in the Grass Valley *Daily Union* said: "It is stated that Miss Hi Loy is soon to be wedded to a Marysville Chinaman and the latter has agreed to pay the fond parents \$600 as a sort of salve to heal the wound inflicted on their feelings by giving up their daughter. They were squeezing her feet down to a small size so she would make a tony appearance on her wedding day." The father was let off from the charge, but the mother was fined for her part in the binding.³³

In another case, a hydraulic miner and a merchant named Suey Chung or Fong Lee arranged for marriage in a traditional manner using individuals acting as go-betweens with a family from Marysville. He brought his wife Lonnie Tom back to live with him in the town of Washington. Over the next few years they had several children together, who were all educated in the local public school. Suey Chung not only tried to fit into the community, giving his children American names, but also tried to preserve elements of their Chinese heritage. Despairing of his ability to properly raise his oldest son in the Chinese language, he arranged to send the boy to China. In a tragic incident there, the boy lost his life.³⁴

In another case, Kan Tin Loy who had been a miner, farmer, and grocer, raised a family in Grass Val-

ley. Tin Loy acted at times as an interpreter for the Nevada County Court. As with Suey Chung he tried to maintain a tie to Chinese culture, while at the same time trying to fit in with the American society around him. His daughter, on the other hand, seems to have had other plans. In a report concerning the girl, the Nevada City *Daily Transcript* stated:

Miss Lily Tin Loy, a native American young lady (born of Chinese parents) and a member of the Grass Valley school, has gone to San Francisco and purchased a fine horse and buggy with which she intends to amuse herself and her numerous Caucasian playmates. She and her mother propose to drive the rig all the way home. Some time since while on a visit to China, Lily showed her American spunk by bucking against Chinese customs (foot pressing included.) [sic] Her

CATEGORIES OF CHINESE FEMALES IN NEVADA COUNTY BY CENSUS YEAR							
CENSUS YEAR	AT HOME OR NO OCCUPATION LISTED	PROSTITUTES	WIVES OR KEEPING HOUSE	FEMALE CHILDREN	OTHER	TOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL CHINESE POPULATION
1860 8TH CENSUS	54			1		55	.027
1870 9TH CENSUS		109	13	2		124	.048
1880 10TH CENSUS	59		32	9	10 <small>LISTED AS R.R. WORKERS</small>	110	.038
1890 11TH CENSUS	CENSUS INFORMATION DESTROYED IN FIRE						
1900 12TH CENSUS			14	5		19	.034
1910 13TH CENSUS			15	16		31	.118



*father is an ordinary Chinaman who has saved up some money here.*³⁵

The Tin Loy family by the second generation had clearly committed itself to assimilation. In 1913, for example, John, the son of Kan Tin Loy, announced that from that time forward, those of Chinese descent in Grass Valley would celebrate the New Year on January first along with the surrounding Euro-American community.³⁶

Concern over citizenship by another family was demonstrated by a Chinese American couple from Nevada City. They hired a lawyer from there to help them establish the United States citizenship of their thirteen-year-old son Lee Gum Sing. The father, Lee Chung Tai, and his wife, Chun See, provided a birth certificate and a sworn deposition to prove his birth in Nevada City in 1907. The

legal deposition included a photograph of a thirteen-year-old boy dressed in western style clothing.³⁷

Unlike many other communities in California, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Washington, and North San Juan gave opportunities for the children of families of Chinese descent to attend public school alongside those descended from Euro-Americans. In newspaper accounts in which mention of them appears, three children of Chinese descent were listed by the school marshall as attending school in Nevada City in 1865, five in 1870 were listed in Nevada City, and five in Grass Valley in 1871. There are also oral accounts of children of a Chinese-born grocer attending public school in North San Juan before

1920. Suey Chung's children, as previously mentioned, attended public school in Washington.

While anti-Chinese statements are remembered by some students of Chinese descent or mentioned in published sources, many positive accounts also exist. The open nature of the high school at Grass Valley even drew back former residents of the Chinese community such as Ping and On Lee, whose parents had moved to Locke.³⁹

Between 1910 and the 1930s, the Chinese-American community in Nevada County shared in the reduced economic conditions which resulted from the declining fortunes of the major mining towns. Rigid enforcement of laws to control hydraulic mining, utilization of labor saving machinery which brought a reduction in the need for mining and other labor, and a depressed mining



Ah Chu, an elderly resident of Nevada City, one of the town's last Chinese bachelors. Courtesy the author.

Lonnie Tom, wife of Fong Lee, of Washington, Nevada County. Courtesy the author.

economy in general had negative effects on all inhabitants of this area.⁴⁰

A few Chinese-American families and a small number of aged bachelors continued to live in Nevada City, in or near Grass Valley, or in Washington. In the town of Washington the former hydraulic miner and merchant Suey Chung or Fong Lee left for Vallejo when hydraulic mining became impossible. Some families, such as the Kans, left the region for the Bay Area to improve their economic fortunes. In Grass Valley the residents of "China Street," which included a small number of families as well as bachelors, were forced to move when their neighborhood was razed to make room for a parking lot and Greyhound Bus station. Most of these families bought houses and continued to live in the area for several years. Some members of these families eventually moved to San

Francisco or Sacramento, but others remained in the area.⁴¹

Nevada County is one of several California counties included in the Sierra Nevada which has seen a long term pattern for residence for those of Chinese descent. They were first drawn to the area by placer gold mining. The continued economic opportunity which came with railroad construction, the timber industry, and hydraulic, and quartz mining gave an opportunity for many Chinese to remain there. In the time from 1850 to 1920, the nature of this immigrant community changed. At first, it was sojourner-oriented, predominantly male, with most of the few women engaged in prostitution to serve this bachelor society. By the 1920s and 1930s, although some sin-

gle men remained, stranded because of the exclusion laws and poverty, a small native-born community of families of Chinese descent had grown.

This makes the Nevada County, California experience important, because it sheds light on the pioneer Chinese-American community in America. These people of Chinese descent built families against tremendous odds. They survived in an ephemeral mining economy, adapting to changes in sources and techniques. They carved out economic niches, such as farming, and provided needed services. They were hurt by organized anti-Chinese actions mounted at the local, state, and national level, but a few managed to hold on and eventually achieve community acceptance. Theirs is an important part of the story of American immigrant origins. CHS

See notes beginning on page 206.



FRANCES NACKE NOEL AND “SISTER MOVEMENTS”

SOCIALISM, FEMINISM AND TRADE UNIONISM
IN LOS ANGELES, 1909–1916

Sherry Katz

In 1948, at age seventy-five, Frances Nacke Noel, a participant for over forty years in labor, feminist, and socialist movements of California commented on her activism.

There is so much to be done and it makes one restless to be no longer young and strong and to go in line with leadership. However, I have already, in a quiet way done a few things which may bear bigger fruit than one expects. It is often astonishing what good—or what damage—one individual can accomplish in this world. So I am keeping at it to the best of my strength and ability.¹

Noel's major goal during her years of organizing was to improve the

All the personal photographs of Frances Nacke Noel used to illustrate this article have been graciously provided by Dr. Knox Mellon from his collection.

Frances Nacke Noel (on the right) with a fellow suffragette campaigning in a novel fashion for the ratification of the California constitutional amendment in 1911 to give women the vote.

position of the working class woman in American society. In order to accomplish this goal, Noel attempted to unite women from the socialist, trade union, and feminist movements in cross-class alliances dedicated to extending women's political rights, establishing women's economic independence, and using the state to enact social legislation which would lead, in time, to women's liberation under socialism.

From the historical study of cross-class alliances among women, a controversy has arisen as to whether or not such endeavors were viable in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² Frances Nacke Noel's career as an activist in the labor, feminist, and socialist movements in Los Angeles is significant, in part, because it casts light on this problem by pointing to the positive achievements of those alliances in Los Angeles. Thanks to a 1952 interview conducted by Irving Bernstein and two small collections of letters,

writings and clippings, it is possible to partially reconstruct Noel's career as a political activist. After a brief look at her early years, the focus will be on the period of her greatest involvement in cross-class and cross-movement activities by examining her political involvements and the ideas that informed her political practice, with an analysis of the success of cross-class and cross-movement alliances in Los Angeles between 1909 and 1916.³

Frances Nacke was born, January 5, 1873, in a small village in Saxony, Germany. Her father worked as the superintendent of a furniture factory and the Nacke family made its home in the factory complex. Nacke began her working life at the age of twelve by, as she put it, "guarding the children of others." In her late teens she studied to be a kindergarten teacher at a school founded by Froebel. She

also spent much of her time outdoors and considered herself a tomboy naturalist. At age twenty this "adventure loving woman" left Germany "to see the world," her first stop being New York City. In less than a year, young Nacke moved to Chicago, where the economic hardships of the 1893 depression, the brutality of the Pullman Strike of 1894, and the politics of Eugene Debs deeply affected her. These events led to an interest in socialism. When she settled in Denver in 1895, Nacke met others who shared what she termed, a "human" (non-orthodox Marxist) approach to questions of class divisions and social struggle. She joined the Socialist Labor party in 1896 and ran unsuccessfully for a Denver local office on the socialist ticket. She also became interested in feminism. After witnessing the falsification of a working woman's ballot by her employer, the rage Nacke experienced convinced her of the need for women's political independence. While supporting herself by working as a governess, she began to recognize the necessity of women's economic self-sufficiency.⁴

In 1899, Frances Nacke arrived in Los Angeles where she worked as a teacher and waitress. She stayed with Job Harriman, a leading socialist in Southern California and future mayoral candidate, who initiated her into the Los Angeles socialist and labor movements. She then left to visit San Francisco, New York, and most significantly, Germany and Switzer-

land where she met many prominent European socialists including August Bebel and Clara Zetkin.⁵

Nacke feared to marry unless she found "the right father for [her] children." Late in 1902, at the age of twenty-nine, she returned to Los Angeles to marry Primrose D. Noel (who preferred to be called Primm or P.D.), fellow Socialist party member and activist in the labor movement, who also shared Nacke's enthusiasm for nature. The couple had two sons, but the second died shortly after birth. From 1903 on, Frances Nacke Noel held paid jobs sporadically and worked feverishly in the labor, socialist, and women's movements.⁶

The Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, held in 1911, represents Noel's first attempt to bring together middle class and working class women in one unit. The call to form the conference was sent out by representatives of six labor groups including the Women's Union Label League of Los Angeles (Local 36), and the garment and laundry workers. The initiators of the conference were interested in forming a cross-class body of women dedicated to discussing and helping to enact legislative measures which would "offer greater protection for home-life, women and children."⁷

On January 18, 1911, a meeting of over one hundred women decided to create a permanent organization. The goals of the conference included: the establishment of a clearing house of information for women in Los Angeles County; the endorsement of laws and legislative measures concerning the welfare of the home, women and children; the collection of data (especially on the



Frances Nacke Noel in the prime of her life.

working conditions of wage-earning women) and the dissemination of the information compiled to the membership; and the maintenance of a publicity fund. Several issues of immediate concern were child custody for women, housing, working conditions, and protective legislation for women and children. Although conference participants, particularly Frances Noel, envisioned establishing "an immense membership, so that . . . the power of women's influence [would] be felt in every walk of life," there is no evidence that the organization survived after its first few months.⁸

Noel continued her cross-class and cross-movement organizing efforts around the issue of woman suffrage. In November 1910, she had arranged for a meeting between the Votes for Women Club (a mainstream, middle class group) and Local 36 of the Women's Union Label League of Los Angeles. The meeting marked the beginning of cooperation among members of the Label League, various suffrage groups, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the 1911 campaign for woman suffrage.⁹ In June 1911, Noel was instrumental in the founding of the Wage Earner's Suffrage League (WESL), which united women from various

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An early photograph of a very young Frances Nacke taken on a trip to Milwaukee, late 1890s.

unions and union auxiliaries, under the leadership of Local 36 and the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, with women active in the Socialist party. Noel recalled that the Central Labor Council, which endorsed woman suffrage in 1909, encouraged her to form a group of working women committed to the issue, and that throughout the campaign "the entire traids [sic] union end practically rested with [her]."¹⁰ Noel modeled the Los Angeles WESL on a similar organization founded by Maud Younger in San Francisco in 1909. In 1910, another sister organization had been founded in New York by women active in the Women's Trade Union League.¹¹

Besides recruiting labor movement women into the WESL, Noel also convinced her Socialist party sisters to participate in the organization. Although on a national level the Socialist party expressed ambivalence about working with middle class feminists on the suffrage issue, it appears that most women in the WESL (socialists and trade unionists) saw themselves as the working class wing of the suffrage movement and remained close to the National American Women's Suffrage Associ-

ation (NAWSA). WESL members rejoiced that "womanhood all through the state, regardless of class, color or creed, [had] clasped hands."¹²

The Los Angeles WESL claimed that women wage earners desperately needed the ballot to improve the terrible working conditions under which they toiled. The stated aim of the organization was "to arouse among all union men and women the absolute need of giving this question of votes for women the utmost attention."¹³ Strategically, WESL members focused on reaching out to working class men, as well as women, and their appeals reflected this approach.

*Union men, you have learned that it is for your interest to enlist the wage-earning women into your organization rather than to permit her to be unorganized, and hence your competitor in the field of industry. It is for you also to decide October 10th if it is not wiser to win the women of the working class for your political strength rather than allow them to be an indifferent or competing element against your interests at the polls.*¹⁴

WESL activists believed that in order for women to achieve political equality, working class men had to be convinced that woman suffrage was in their own interests. "The old Adam," Noel wrote, "is not fully dead in individual union men; many still cling

to the worn-out motto that 'Woman's place is in the home.'"¹⁵

In literature directed more towards working class women, two arguments appeared. The first called for woman suffrage on the basis of simple human justice and equality, while the second proposed that women should have the vote in order to extend their caretaking skills from the home to all of society. These were similar to the arguments of "equality and difference" used by mainstream, middle class feminists. Noel wrote that, "any power wielded by men over the individuality of women is tyranny, not chivalry," thus asserting the natural right of women to their own personhood. Yet she also proposed that "women's great mission is to conserve the home and the life of the race," and that this mission could be enhanced by the participation of women in the political process.¹⁶ WESL literature appealed to women's desire to protect and advance themselves, as well as to their culturally imposed responsibility to guard the family and improve society.

In terms of tactics, WESL activists were extremely innovative. Although suffragists all over California employed "the new flamboyant agitational techniques which would mark the suffrage movement's last phase," WESL members went furthest. They pioneered street meetings and outdoor gatherings for suffrage, visited factories and homes in order to reach working people, and used the labor and socialist press to publicize "the cause." Noel herself rode on horseback carrying a "Votes for Women" sign following the horse-drawn wagon of the WESL. She also initiated "sidewalk campaigning," the practice of catching men outside of

bars (which excluded women) and educating them on the need for woman suffrage. Most dramatically, in July 1911, Noel and other WESL members organized an outdoor meeting in such a way as to circumvent Los Angeles' anti-picketing ordinance, enacted in 1910 to prevent labor and socialist groups from gathering for demonstrations or rallies. Their "picnic" proved very successful.¹⁷

On October 10, 1911, California voters passed the state's woman suffrage amendment. Noel commented that although she and her comrades had worked strenuously, they had gotten "a great deal of genuine pleasure out of [their] campaign. No other movement could ever have brought women of all classes so closely in contact. As one woman expressed it," Noel wrote, "it has done more to kill snobbishness than we can dream of."¹⁸

Prior to the 1911 campaign for woman suffrage, Noel became interested in establishing a local chapter of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the most well-known experiment in cross-class political work among women in United States history. In 1909 and 1910, she watched anxiously and enthusiastically as the WTUL contributed to the dramatic garment and shirtwaist makers' strikes in New York City. She initiated formal communication with the WTUL in 1910. At that time, Noel began to receive proceedings from national meetings, including executive committee minutes. In 1912, she established a correspondence and friendship with Alice Henry, editor of the WTUL's journal, *Life and Labor*, and



one of its earliest historians. To Henry, she wrote often about attempting to found a branch of the league in Los Angeles, and as early as 1912, Noel wanted to make WTUL work her primary political commitment.¹⁹

Early in 1914, a committee to organize a WTUL chapter in Los Angeles emerged, which consisted of several national members, including Noel, and women trade unionists. Initially, the committee held monthly educational meetings to attract other women to the organization. The third educational meeting in April 1914 was devoted entirely to a "heart to heart" talk between interested women who spoke of the problems and issues confronting them. In 1914, the committee also conducted a drive to register working class women to vote, an effort similar to ones Noel had coordinated in Los Angeles and San Francisco two years earlier. In keeping with the theme of legislation, the local group surveyed

*Frances Nacke as a maturing young lady.
Date unknown.*

WTUL chapters in other cities for information on the workings of the minimum wage laws in their states. Early in 1915, a series of educational meetings on unemployment attracted club women to the fledgling chapter. Following these meetings, the WTUL, with the assistance of the Central Labor Council and Fred Wheeler, labor leader and socialist city council member, persuaded that body to create a committee devoted to investigating the unemployment problem in Los Angeles.²⁰

Noel wrote to officers and delegates of the National WTUL Convention in June 1915 that the local league had not "prospered as much as I would like to report." She stressed the problems of finding capable middle-class allies, and of involving more female unionists in the group. But offsetting these disappoint-



Primrose D. Noel, a fellow Socialist party member and activist in the Los Angeles labor movement, whom Frances Nacker married in late 1902.

ments were the accomplishments of the Unemployment Committee and the success of the local's strike support work. Female cannery, bindery, and boot and shoe workers had all benefited from the local's energies.²¹

In 1915, the Los Angeles WTUL embarked upon what Noel called its most important work, the establishment of a camp for working women. Under the official ownership of the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women, Camp Aliso, located in San Dimas Canyon of the San Gabriel Mountains to the east of the city of Pasadena, promised to provide cheap and easily accessible vacations for Los Angeles working women. A pamphlet advertising the

camp stated that, "the necessity for play and recreation for all people is an established fact. Our camp provides the opportunity, heretofore unoffered, for wholesome outdoor activities for wage-earning women."²² Camp Aliso was indeed one of the first recreational facilities created to serve working class women, perhaps building upon the Chicago WTUL's practice of organizing weekend excursions to local parks. Unfortunately, a harsh winter that year destroyed the camp and the WTUL was unable to raise the money to rebuild it. In 1916, the young chapter found itself bankrupt and too demoralized to carry on. It donated the camp site to the city of Los Angeles and officially disbanded in 1917.²³

The Los Angeles group appeared to hold views consistent with those of the national organization. The chapter supported a combination of organizing and protective legislation based on the notions that women

were inadequately unionized and biologically in need of protection. Noel felt, as did national officers, that the integration of working women into the labor movement was the most important first step in improving their lives.

*It is only as a collective bargainer that she [the woman worker] can hold her own as a worker. It is through organizing with her co-workers that she learns to realize and understand the principles of social economy which underly [sic] the structure of the work-a-day world. She must organize to maintain the health and self-respect of her sex. She must organize to meet collectively the representatives of government on issues of labor legislation. She must organize to unite with organized womanhood in every walk of life.*²⁴

Organizationally, the Los Angeles chapter of the WTUL resembled other local branches. It served as the women's arm of the labor movement and the industrial arm of the women's movement. Yet, the Los Angeles chapter appeared to enjoy a uniquely peaceful coexistence with other labor and women's groups. The *Citizen*, the labor movement's newspaper, regularly devoted space to WTUL articles and activities, and the WTUL's unemployment committee plan was endorsed by the Central Labor Council. Relations with the women's community remained positive, with many members of the Friday Morning Club, one of the oldest and largest women's clubs in the city, attending WTUL educational meetings on a regular basis. There is little evidence of internal tension between workers and allies.²⁵

Between 1909 and 1916, Frances Noel engaged in several other activities that she believed would help

to unite women across class and movement boundaries. She was a prominent member of the Los Angeles women's club movement, served on local and statewide social and industrial commissions, and remained part of the reformist, labor-oriented faction of the Socialist party of California.

As a member of two local women's clubs, the Friday Morning Club and the Woman's City Club, Noel became a prominent advocate of communication between middle class reformers and working class women. Noel reinvigorated the tradition of the Friday Morning Club's involvement with working class women by bringing in speakers on labor issues, and by urging the club to take up investigations of the local employment conditions encountered by wage-earning women. These efforts were at least partially successful, for in 1913 the club, with the assistance of the Central Labor Council, initiated a probe into labor conditions in Los Angeles. Noel also helped to develop a relationship between the mainstream suffrage activities of many of the club's members and the campaign of the Wage Earner's Suffrage League. When the Woman's City Club was founded in 1910, Noel was among its original members. By 1915, she headed its Public Affairs Department and sat on its Board of Directors. In that same year, the Woman's City Club sponsored an educational meeting on female unemployment.²⁶

Frances Noel also served on several bodies which investigated industrial and employment conditions in Los Angeles and California. As a



member of these bodies she consistently articulated the concerns of the labor, women's, and socialist movements regarding issues such as unemployment, wages and working conditions, disability coverage, and "social insurance" for women and the elderly. The *Citizen* offered detailed coverage of investigations in which Noel participated and praised her efforts on behalf of workers, women, and the left.²⁷

In May 1913, Noel was appointed to the city's Industrial Commission, which was established, at the urging of the Friday Morning Club and the Central Labor Council, to examine the employment conditions and wages of Los Angeles workers. The body as a whole investigated and reported on conditions affecting all workers, while Noel and another female Commission member developed a supplemental study of the problems encountered by wage-earning women. Noel continued to serve on the Commission when it was permanently established in 1915. She conducted additional investigations and oversaw the administration of the Los Angeles Municipal Employment Bureau.²⁸ Governor Hiram Johnson, at the urging of reformer Katherine Philips Edson, ap-

Primrose and Frances Noel with their only child, Frank, who was born in the early years of their marriage.

pointed Noel to the state's Social Insurance Commission in 1915. Noel spent three years on the Commission investigating and promoting unemployment insurance, disability insurance, old age insurance, and mother's pensions (an early form of Aid to Families with Dependent Children).²⁹

The California Socialist party was founded in 1901, in tandem with the formation of the national Socialist party. In 1902 and again in 1911, the "Fusionists," those believing in the necessity of socialist/labor collaboration, dominated the state party. Labor/socialist unity was especially pronounced in Los Angeles from 1910 to 1914, and the 1911 municipal election campaign represented the highest degree of cooperation between the two groups in California history. Noel ran for city council on the Socialist party ticket in 1913 during the high tide of socialist/labor unity. Although defeated at the polls, she worked closely with socialist/labor city council members Fred Wheeler (1913–1917) and Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1915–1917).³⁰



Frances and her son, Frank, relaxing on the lawn of their Los Angeles home, 1916.

Why did Noel work so single-mindedly for the promotion of cross-class alliances among women and attempt to bring the socialist, feminist, and trade union movements together? She identified two main sources of women's oppression, the capitalist system (which degraded women as workers) and the deeply rooted sexism of men (which she saw expressed in oppressive personal relationships and in political resistance to woman suffrage).³¹ Noel believed

that women and men had to work together for women's liberation. Yet, she often indicted socialist men, whom she regarded as the most theoretically committed to women's equality, for failing actively to promote even the most basic form of political participation for women.

The political enfranchisement of women has been part of the Socialist platform from its very inception. However, the

*equal suffrage clause in the Socialist platform was never during any campaign in this state considered a main issue. It was always a side issue.*³²

Noel believed that while women continued to join forces with men, they had to, simultaneously, work across class lines in autonomous organizations.

Noel argued for a combination of class and gender (cross-class) unity in the struggle to improve the position of women in American society. This two-pronged strategy was outlined best in a 1928 article entitled "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor." The woman's and labor-movements as twins (with wage-earning women participating in both) could work together to bring about a more egalitarian society, economically and socially.

*Both [movements] were created through rebellion against oppression, and both must continue their organized strength to remain as a bulwark against the forces of social life which constantly seek the exploitation of Labor and of woman. Both movements have the highest standards of civilization for their program, and neither can wander far apart from each other without inviting disaster.*³³

She warned that without the full commitment of each movement to the other, change would be very slow in coming.

Frances Noel embodied the ideological synthesis developed between socialist, women's and labor movements in Los Angeles in the early 1910s. All three movements, developing within the context of progressivism, stressed the potentials of social harmony and legislative change, while denouncing the most immediately visible evils of industrial capitalism. They also shared an anal-

Camp Aliso

San Dimas Canyon



Under the Management of the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women

For information address

HENRIETTA HESSELBERGER
President

3820 Pasadena Avenue

Phone 31147

Los Angeles



PURPOSE

The necessity for play and recreation for all people is an established fact. Our camp provides opportunity, heretofore unoffered, for wholesome outdoor activities for wage-earning women.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMP

The camp is located in the heart of San Dimas Canyon, 6½ miles from the town of San Dimas. It can be reached by motor in two hours from Los Angeles, or by trolley to San Dimas and then a walk over the Foothill Boulevard to the mouth of the canyon. There one begins to follow a most delightful path through the woods under the alder trees, crossing and recrossing the refreshing, fascinating stream before reaching the camp.



Advisory Committee

Jennie C. Haisch, President Garment Workers.

Gertrude Reinhardt, Waitresses.

Helen Zuhke, Household Workers.

Mrs. William B. Middleton, Nurses.

Miss Eleanor Sweeny, Stenographers and Office Help.

May Saunders, Printing Trades.

Mrs. Marie J. Steckenbaugh, Laundries.

Mrs. Rose Waggoner, Saleswomen.



"TEN MINUTES FOR REST"

ysis of women's oppression and women's proper social roles which represented a transitional moment between the ideas of gender difference which were dominant in the nineteenth century and those of sexual equality which took hold in the twentieth century. On the one hand, special emphasis was placed upon women's nurturing nature and the calling of motherhood; on the other hand, women deserved and were capable of complete social and political equality. With respect to the nature of female oppression, these three groups agreed that economic and political constraints kept women from achieving social equality. Both in theory and practice, they supported woman suffrage, protective legislation for women and (in limited ways) the organizing of women into unions.³⁴

In Los Angeles, there also appears to have been consensus on how society would be transformed. The temporary achievement of labor/socialist unity provided a working model for social change which relied on the or-

ganization of workers by the unions and the politicization of all people by the Socialist party. Together they could enact local changes which would prepare for socialism on a larger scale. Although many women's movement activists never became socialists, they possessed similar social concerns and worked with the socialist/labor bloc in investigations of local labor conditions, and in the campaigns for protective legislation and suffrage. In Los Angeles, at least, cross-class alliances among women worked between 1910 and 1916. Women engaged in a type of political separatism which was relatively well received even by male socialists and trade unionists.³⁵

Prior to 1916, when labor/socialist unity broke down, Los Angeles appeared to provide an environment for the collaboration of socialists, trade unionists, and feminists on issues of gender and class. This does not mean that there were no tensions, but simply that, for a time, limited ideological harmony allowed for joint political practice. Admit-

A promotional pamphlet issued to advertise Camp Aliso situated in San Dimas Canyon which was sponsored by the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles.

tedly, reformist strategies and an ideology which failed to address the role of the family in circumscribing women's lives provided an easy route to unity.³⁶ Relative harmony made possible the near electoral dominance of socialists and trade unionists (with the help of feminists), in Los Angeles in 1911 and again in 1913.

Several factors may explain the unique position of Los Angeles. The weakness of the labor movement could have paved the way for unity with a thriving socialist movement. Additionally, many trade unionists were also socialists or felt sympathy for the party. The local women's movement, well established by 1910, had been initiated by Christian socialists and was concerned from the first with the plight of working



A group of volunteers building Camp Aliso, situated in San Dimas Canyon, some six miles east of Pasadena, September 1917.

women. The temporary marriage of these groups developed, it seems, from the exceptional influence of socialists in Southern California and out of political necessities created by the weakness of labor in Los Angeles.³⁷

On a national level, it has been argued that ideological and practical unity did not exist among socialists, feminists, and trade unionists in the 1910s. Some historians believe that socialist and trade union women stressed class consciousness, militancy, and fundamental social changes which reached beyond the alterations in women's status advocated by middle class feminists. These class differences manifested themselves, within the WTUL for example, in the advocacy of female unionization by working class women vs. legislative reform preferred by middle class activists. Frances Noel's experience suggests that ideological and pragmatic compatibility among women and between movements may not have been unusual in the early twentieth century.³⁸

Although Frances Noel remained involved in the labor and women's movements through the 1920s, 1916 marked the end of her cross-class and cross-movement ventures. By that time, tensions between socialists and trade unionists, expressed through labor's political realignment with California's Progressive party and the national Democratic party, meant that these two groups would no longer work closely together. Disagreements over United States' involvement in World War I also drove socialists and trade unionists further apart while political repression led to the decline of the Socialist party. In addition, the splintering of the feminist movement after the national suffrage victory may have made local cross-class work among women more difficult in the 1920s.³⁹

During the late 1910s and early 1920s, Noel's energies were directed towards consolidating an organized female presence in the labor movement. With the assistance of female trade unionists and working class housewives, she founded the Conference of Union Women of Southern California, a Women's Commit-

tee within the Los Angeles Labor Council, and a Women's Annex to the Labor Temple.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, Noel focused her energies on the issue of birth control. She served as president of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Birth Control League, and helped to establish one of the first birth control clinics in the United States. Within the primarily middle class birth control movement, Noel's class background and former political affiliation were probably unusual.⁴⁰ Despite the non-cross-class nature of these political involvements, in 1928 Noel still articulated her lasting interest in women's cross-class alliances. An article published in a labor yearbook stressed the necessity for wage-earning women to combine with their middle class sisters.⁴¹

For Frances Nacke Noel, socialist, feminist, and trade unionist, working class women were her "main interest in life." In the early 1910s, Noel participated in socialist, feminist, and labor struggles in a way made possible by a degree of ideological compatibility on questions of gender, methods of social transformation, and (to a lesser extent) on issues of class that has not existed since. Temporarily, the Los Angeles experiment in cross-class organizing among women proved successful—in the woman suffrage campaign of 1911, in the accomplishments of the WTUL, and in community investigations of social problems such as unemployment. Yet by 1916, the preconditions for ideological and practical unity had passed. Frances Noel would dedicate the rest of her life to the women's movement and the labor movement, but at different times and in separate ways. [CHS]

See notes beginning on page 207.

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. The text is organized into several paragraphs across the page, with some lines appearing as horizontal streaks. No specific content can be discerned.]

Edited by James J. Rawls

Junípero Serra's Legacy.

By Martin J. Morgado. (Pacific Grove: Mount Carmel, 1987. 251 pp. \$35.00 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide.

By Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, editors. (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1987. 233 pp. \$8.50 paper.)

Reviewed by William S. Simmons, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley and author of *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984*.

Father Junípero Serra (1713-1784), who founded the first nine missions from San Diego to San Francisco, may become California's first Roman Catholic saint. Shortly after Serra's death at Mission Carmel in 1784, his garments were thought to have caused miraculous cures. He was first proposed as a candidate for sainthood in 1934. In 1985 Pope John Paul II declared Serra to be a "venerable," the first of three steps necessary for canonization. Pope John Paul II beatified Father Serra on September 25, 1988 in Vatican City—thus completing the second step. After beatification, one more miracle must be attributed to Serra's intercession before he can become a saint. Beatification does not necessarily mean that he will go on to canonization, for in addition to the more strictly spiritual evidence, there is also the question of whether a candidate would be good for the contemporary era. This is where the Serra case becomes difficult because there are polarized views on his worthiness for sainthood. These two books, both of which were inspired by recent events in the canonization process, reflect these opposed points of view.

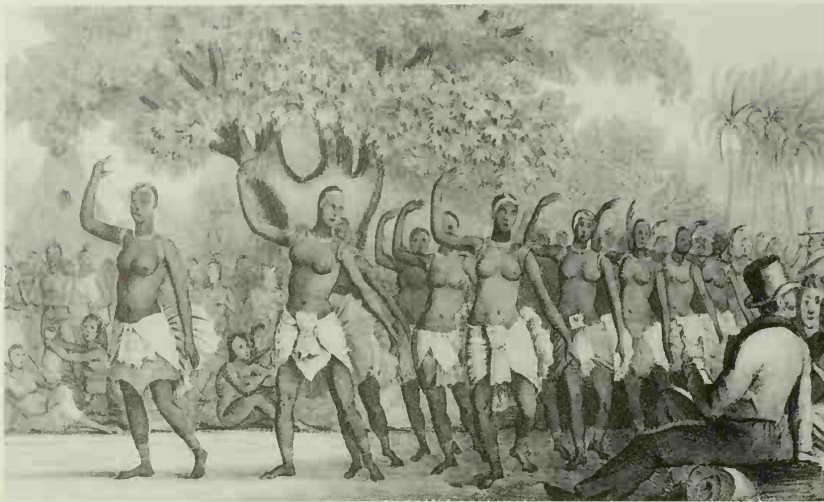
Martin J. Morgado's volume is a history of Junípero Serra's career and influ-



ence with a particular emphasis on what the author describes as his "material legacy." The purpose of this book, as described in the Preface, is "to begin to identify, document, and describe Serra's 'possessions' that are still in existence today." The material legacy accounted for in this book includes, in addition to whatever Serra "used, touched, and valued," an evaluation of the background of all known prints and paintings of this famous Franciscan missionary. The greater part of this work is concerned with documenting "every extant Mission Carmel artifact that Serra either personally used, or that belonged to the mission

An 1884 "Admission Day Souvenir" card depicting Fr. Junípero Serra, "The Pioneer of Pioneers," published by the Sacramento Daily and Weekly Bee. CHS Collections.

during his lifetime." This survey does not include an itemization of Serra's written legacy such as his letters and sermons, although Morgado draws upon such material as well as upon the writings of his biographer, Francisco Palóu, to establish historical context. The volume is generously provided with 110 fine illustrations (many of which are in color), numerous maps, an informative glossary, and an index. The four chap-



José Cardero, artist for the Alejandro Malespina expedition, drew these three sketches in 1790 depicting Esselen or Rumsen Indians, the local native populace living in the environs of Monterey. Plates are reproduced from Donald C. Cutter, *Malespina in California* (San Francisco, 1960).

ters follow a chronological order from Serra's early life in Mallorca (1713–1749), to his missionary experiences in Mexico (1749–1769), to his pioneering efforts in California (1769–1784), to *post-mortem* events such as his progress toward sainthood, and the subsequent history of Mission Carmel (1784–1887). According to Monsignor Francis J. Weber, who contributed the Foreword, Morgado wrote this book during “the rare leisure moments of a legal career” and completed it for the visit of Pope John Paul II to Carmel in 1987. Anyone interested in the material legacy of California's missions will find this book attractive and absorbing. Reading it will greatly enhance one's ability to appreciate a visit to Serra's home, headquarters, and burial place at Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo. The focus on material culture enables the reader to enter that distant eighteenth-century world of the Franciscan missions in a way that the written word alone cannot easily accomplish.

This reader was particularly struck by two of Father Serra's possessions (in addition to such fabulous and well-illustrated items such as the Bucareli Monstrance and the Serra Indian Reliquary), that dramatically illuminate aspects of the *mentalité* that inspired California's Franciscan missions. The first is the iron and braided-wire *disciplina* that now hangs above Serra's bed in his recon-

structed cell at Carmel. The second is the large stone illustrated in Serra's right hand in the woodcut engraving from Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica*. The disciplina he used to practice self-mortification, which he did “beyond” regulations. The stone he used to pound his chest, also to punish himself and to move his hearers to penance for their sins. These and other examples of self-mortification were intended to improve one's relationship with God by renouncing worldly and bodily comforts. Explicit here is a struggle between flesh and spirit, between this world and otherworldly concerns. Eighteenth-century Franciscans, including Father Serra, elevated spiritual above physical well-being, and saw suffering, privation, and death as necessary and even desirable sacrifices toward greater spiritual goals. In his rejection of bodily comforts and his self-punishing practices, Father Serra was an exemplary symbol of the mission worlds that he helped create, where lives were less important than souls. The suffering, disease, culture-shock, demoralization, and harsh discipline that mission authorities introduced into California Indian life were, from the Franciscan point of view, hardships on the road to spiritual rehabilitation. Small wonder that a number of California Indians look back at the mission era, and on Father Serra's role in the colonization and con-

version process, with ambivalence and resentment.

This brings us to Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo's powerful challenge to Father Serra's case for canonization. Whereas Morgado noted the more peaceful and harmonious aspects of Mission Indian life, the Costos and their many contributors speak of the indignities that the mission form of colonization wrought upon California's Indians. The Costos, founders and editors of The Indian Historian Press, inform the



reader that this book was born out of the necessity to reveal "the truth" about Father Serra, in the context of the project for his canonization.

The authors of *The Missions of California* offer a broad range of objections to Serra's case. In his account of "The Indians Before Invasion," Rupert Costo dispels some of the widely held stereotypes about California Indians (for example, that they had no indigenous government, sense of property, laws, and marriage systems) that served as rationalizations in the past and present for their colonization and conversion. In her chapter on "The Sword and the Cross," Jeannette Henry Costo asks why Serra never addressed the problem of rape of Indian women, which, she attests, was not infrequent at all the missions. Furthermore, she argues, life in the mission communities was oppressive in other ways, as can be demonstrated by Indian-led revolts by such leaders as Yozcolo and Pomponio. A

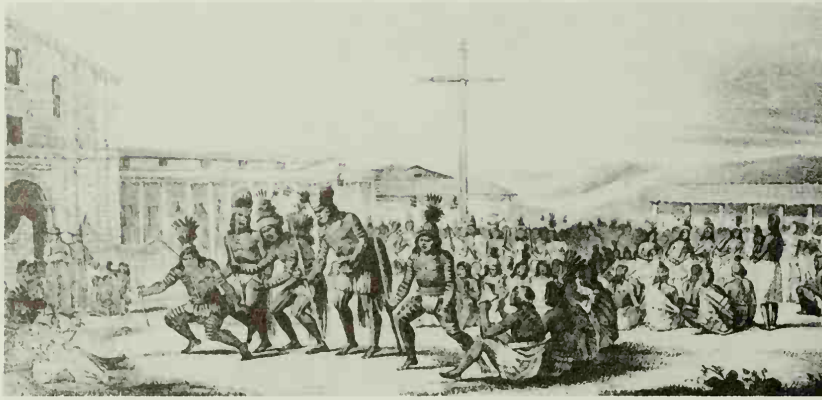
number of Indian and non-Indian scholars (Professor Florence C. Shipek, Edward Castillo, James A. Lewis, Dr. Thomas L. Jackson, and Professor Jack Norton) contributed chapters that document such matters as forced labor, exploitation, malnutrition, population decline, harsh punishment, and other hardships endured by the California Indians who lived under the mission regime.

An interesting part of this volume (Part Five) is a series of testimonies, mainly by persons of California Indian ancestry, regarding the mission period. Many of these are oral traditions that Rupert Costo collected from living people of Mission Indian descent, that attest to the harsh side of mission life. They convey a sense of mourning and resentment for the sufferings of their ancestors. One spokesperson in Part Five, Father P. Michael Galvan, of the diocese in Oakland, is descended from the same Indian community that lived closest to

The drawing, probably by José Cardero, though unsigned, details a Spanish California soldier's dress, arms and armament in action against local natives who are on the defensive. Plate from Cutter, Malespina in California.

Serra's Carmel mission. Galvan notes that to beatify a person who represents eighteenth-century missionary approaches would be problematic, for in his opinion, such a model should not be emulated in the present-day Church.

The Costos have included in their Appendix the views of nine authorities, who at the request of Bishop Thaddeus Shubsda of Monterey, attempted to answer critics of Father Serra's canonization. These authorities argue in favor of Serra's treatment of Indians and the benefits that colonization and conversion brought to the native California people. Among the most interesting selections in the Appendix is that by the Reverend Francis F. Guest, archivist of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. He ar-



Indians at Mission Dolores in their native dress, performing a dance for the entertainment of the visiting Russian expedition commanded by Otto Kotzebue in 1816. Drawing by Louis Choris in Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde . . . (Paris, 1822).

gues that Serra and the Franciscans should be evaluated against the broader background of the history of Christian conversion of native people in the Old World and in their eighteenth-century context. With regard to this latter consideration, Guest points out, it was customary in eighteenth-century Hispanic households for parents to whip young children, and even adult children, for misbehavior. He adds that "The step from punishing adult children in a Spanish home to punishing adult wards in a Spanish mission in Upper California was not, for Spaniards of that time and culture, a long one to take." Of course the Spanish cultural context is only part of the overall picture. Indians were also an important element in eighteenth-century mission society, and they too, must be heard. The Costos and their contributing authors tell us that Indians did not invite such treatment, they didn't like it, they resisted it, and they haven't forgotten it.

The Costos are to be credited for having brought the Indian view into the open. The memories of their fall from the indigenous ways of life are still alive in their minds. Missionaries such as Father Serra did impart some of the knowledge (practical, social, and religious) that California Indians would need to survive in the Euro-American colonial world. Serra may even have been the kindest vanguard of an unkind historical process. Whether he was the cutting edge of colonization, or its buffer, Father Serra symbolizes to many Indians the

demise of their ancestral civilization, the hardship of eighteenth-century missions, and the premise that Indians and their cultures are inferior to Europeans.

Californiana IV: Aportación a la Historiografía de California en el siglo xviii.

Edited by W. Michael Mathes. Colección 'Chimalistac' de libros y documentos acerca de la Nueva España, Nos. 45, 46. (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1987. 2 vols. \$120.00.)

Reviewed by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., Ph.D., archivist Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library and noted historian of the California mission era.

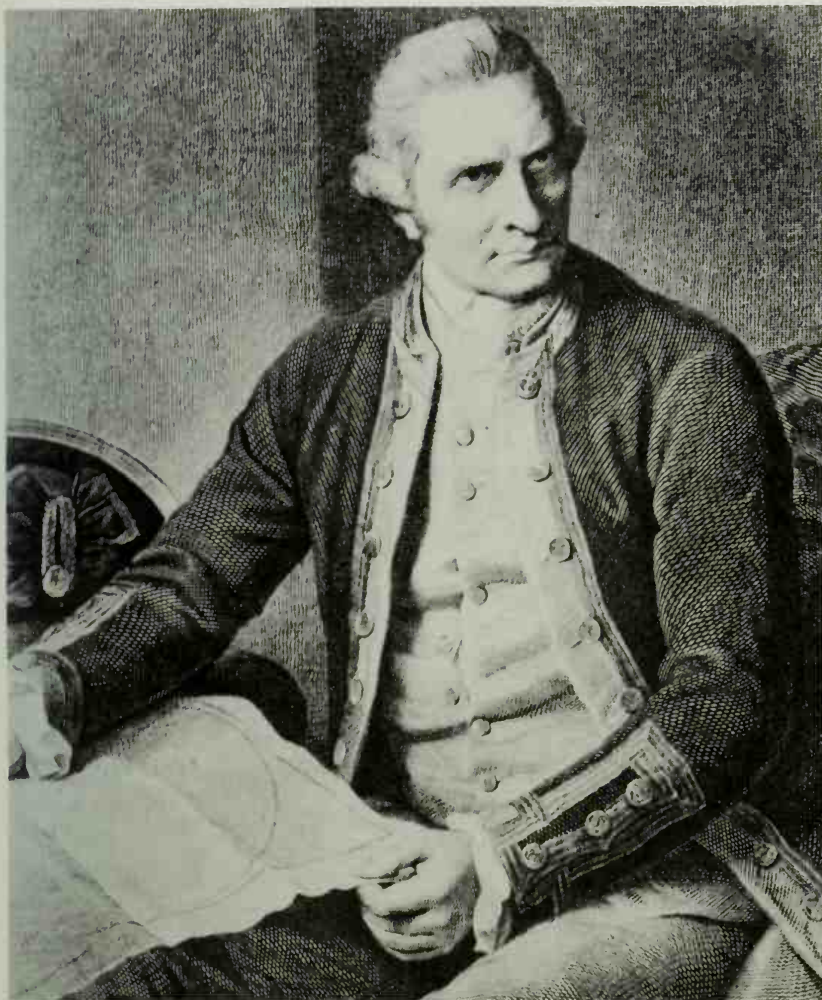
In these two volumes Professor Mathes continues his valuable work of editing studies in the history and geography of the Californias by Spanish scholars of the eighteenth century. This time the emphasis is on Upper California and the documentation is centered around the dispute between Spain and England on colonial rights to the possession of the northwest coast of America

in the neighborhood of Nootka Sound.

In response to the claims made by Captain James Cook in 1779 and in defense of the Spanish title established between 1774 and 1779, Fray Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, a Benedictine scholar, wrote, in the year 1783, a learned treatise describing the coast of both Californias up to the Strait of Anián, which for him meant the Bering Strait. In this work he included chapters on the Jesuit missions in Lower California, the Spanish settlements in Upper California, the voyage of Captain Cook in 1779, the discoveries of the Russians, and their commercial activities in Canadian and Alaskan waters. Fray Iñigo upholds the rights of Spain to the disputed territory. In the present text Fray Iñigo's treatise covers approximately 100 pages.

In 1789, the Spanish government, observing the possibility that she might lose the disputed territory, sent to the coast of the North Pacific a scientific expedition under the command of Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante. The cosmographer of this expedition, Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, was most probably the author of Documents II and III of the present collection, each treating the same subject from a different point of view. Document II provides a physical description of the coast of Northwest America and an account of conditions in the Internal Provinces. Document III consists of political reflections on California and the Internal Provinces. Bauzá visualized Monterey as the principal port for the commercial development of California, which he regarded as more important than the Internal Provinces. He also favored free trade and peaceful expansion which he thought would be prudent in view of Spain's numerous enemies and limited military power. Document II extends to 110 pages. Document III to ninety.

The final document in this collection was written in 1793 by Fernando Faxardo Covarrubias, who was most probably an accountant in the office of the royal treasury in Mexico City. The material in the



document falls naturally into three sections: the history of California from 1535 to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, a general account of the administration of all the California missions, Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan, and a detailed treatment of the economic status of the missions at the time when the document was written. The author includes tables detailing income and expenses both for the missions and the Pious Fund.

Professor Mathes identifies the archives from which he obtained the document he has edited, provides a general bibliography for the entire collection, and includes a glossary of geographical

Captain James Cook (1708-1779) who was the first non-Spaniard to explore the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1778-1779.
CHS Collections.

and proper names, a key to abbreviations that occur in the documents, a list of weights, measures, and monetary values, a general introduction to the entire collection, illuminating introductions to the studies of each of the three authors, and a bibliography of the works cited by the first two authors of the collection. The index is analytical and abundant.

The bibliography of Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra indicates an unusually high

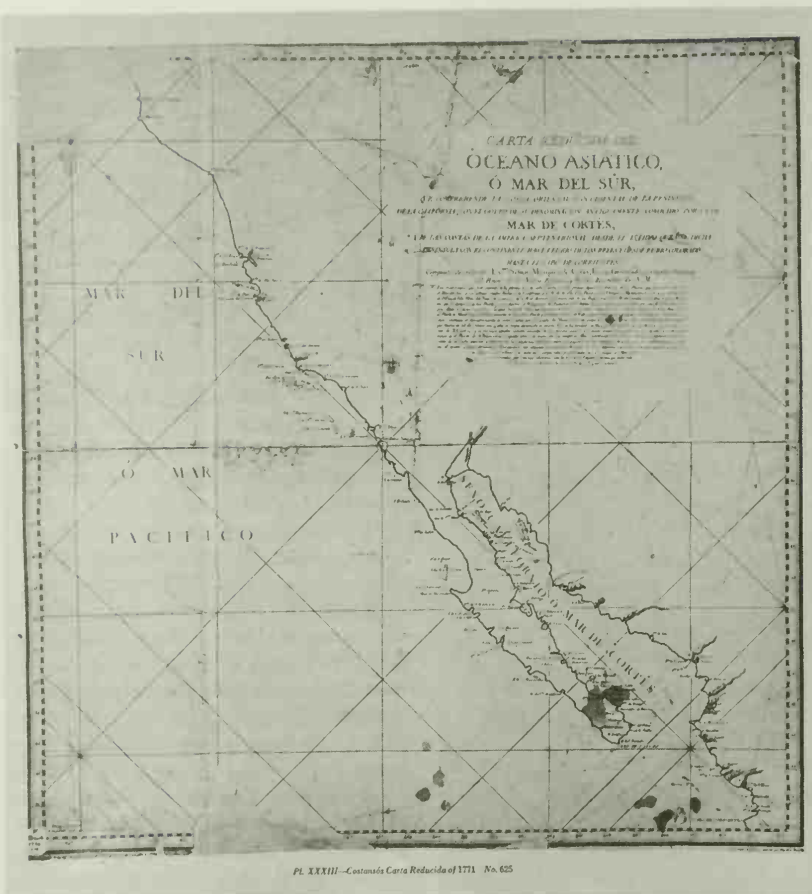
level of historiographic scholarship and methodology for the time. Although the treatise suffers from some errors and omissions, it must be considered, when viewed in the context of the time, one of the most learned of the eighteenth-century studies on California. The scholarship of Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, in his two works on California and the Internal Provinces, is in much the same class as that of Abbad y Lasierra. The history written by Fernando Faxardo Covarrubias, less learned than those of the first two authors, bears some resemblance to the report written by the Dominican missionary, Luis Sales.

In the course of reading these documents, one comes upon passages which, in view of present discussion of early California history, are of more than ordinary interest. For example, Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra, in describing the Indians of the area immediately east of San Francisco Bay, points out that, with their fishing, hunting, seeds, and fruits, they had an abundance of food which they could enjoy without working and hence would not wish to be located in a distant mission. Then he says, "... and it is necessary that new missions be established in those places in which the Indians have their dwellings, for to take them away is but to do them violence, and they will not subsist" (p. 87).

Again, Felipe Bauzá stresses the point that a missionary was not afraid, in California, "to travel alone for forty and fifty leagues or to visit [alone] the rancherias of the Indians. And the native, even though not a convert, did not cease to come daily to the missions or the presidios to ask either for food or for a day's work, and the response he met with was prompt and gratifying" (p. 189).

On page 246 Bauzá emphasizes the point that a right philosophy, daughter of a pure religion, will take the necessary precautions not to infringe the inviolable rights of Man.

We are grateful to Dr. Mathes for making available to us these interesting and valuable studies on the Californians. □



Pl. XXXIII—Costansó's Carta Reducida of 1771 No. 625

Miguel Costansó, cartographer and engineer with the Portolá 1769 expedition, produced this 1771 map of the California coast. Reproduced from Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America* . . . (2 vols., Berkeley, 1937), 1:167.

The Development of Law in Frontier California: Civil Law and Society, 1850–1890.

By Gordon Morris Bakken. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985. 162 pp. \$32.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Michael Griffith, Court Archivist, United States District Court, Northern District of California.

Gordon Bakken's book investigates an important and underresearched area of California history. However, failure to push the analysis far enough prevents this pioneering work from being fully successful.

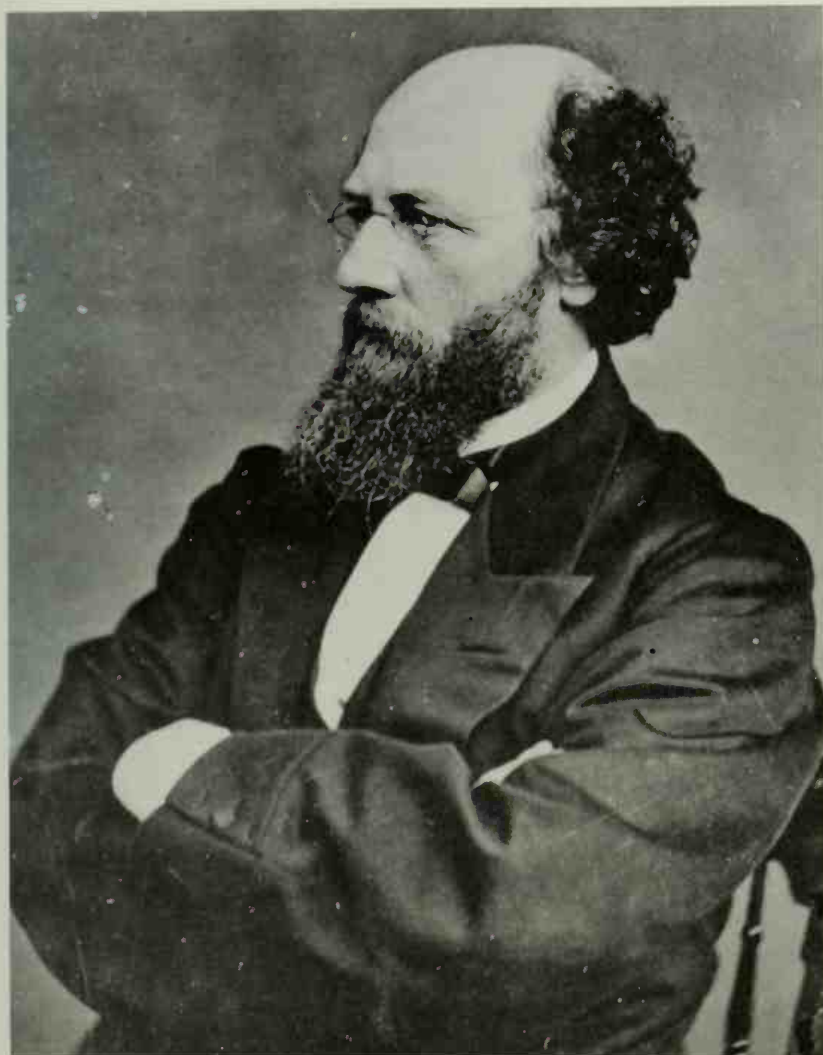
Despite the availability of records, scholars have neglected the history of law in California until recently (as is true of the legal history of the West generally). Christian Fritz's University of California, Berkeley doctoral dissertation on nineteenth-century federal courts, Lawrence Friedman's and Robert Percival's writings on state courts in Alameda County, and Arthur McEvoy's prize-winning *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980* are the noteworthy exceptions. Nonetheless, the potential of California legal history has scarcely been tapped.

In his introduction, Bakken describes this book as the first of a projected four volumes on California legal history. It concentrates on civil law: contracts, torts, landlord-tenant law, mortgage law, the law relating to credit, and, in a brief section, admiralty law. It appears that the three volumes to come will take up "the allocation of natural resources, the public law, and criminal law," besides contract, the "fundamental topics" of late nineteenth-century California legal history according to Bakken.

Bakken's work rests mainly on two sources: the opinions and manuscripts of the California Supreme Court. Bakken has clearly read widely in Supreme Court opinions, and on occasion he makes statistical analyses of the results. (I suspect Bakken has read *every* Supreme Court opinion dealing with civil law from 1850 through 1890, but the "bibliographic essay" does not discuss primary sources used in the book.) As far as manuscripts are concerned, Bakken appears to have utilized the papers of merchants and other litigants rather than collections generated by attorneys. Collections are cited from the Huntington, Bancroft, and California State libraries.

Generally each chapter does two things: under a general heading such as torts or mortgage law, it provides examples of the different transactions or situations from which litigation emerged and it also discusses Supreme Court rulings in each area. Thus, in the chapter on contracts, we learn of the many different sorts of businesses which used contracts and of the legal issues the Supreme Court ruled on for each sort of contract. The chapter concludes by noting that California contract law was in the American mainstream.

Unfortunately Bakken rarely ventures from this sort of descriptive analysis to a more revealing look at the relationships between civil law and society. If Bakken had presented a more explicit thesis about the role of civil law in California and used the examination of different



sorts of civil law as evidence for that hypothesis, this book would have been much more exciting. He might, for example, have organized his research to explore whether frontier law was innovative or conservative. The failure to pass beyond description is especially evident in the book's Conclusion, which consists of observations such as: "The Supreme Court did not produce a record of consistent principled decision making. Rather it issued decisions that followed general principles and decisions that confounded precedents and principles."

Stephen J. Field (1816-1899), one of California's greatest jurists, while a member of the State Assembly sponsored the California Practice Act of 1851. A specialist in mining law and land grant titles, he served as associate justice (1857-1859) and chief justice (1859-1863) on the California State Supreme Court prior to his appointment as the first Californian as an associate justice (1863-1897) of the U.S. Supreme Court. CHS Collections.

Bakken's reliance on Supreme Court records may have hindered him in pushing the analysis further. Appellate decisions are not necessarily the best source

for understanding the roles of lawyers, courts, and law. Lower court records may provide richer insights into the role of law in a society.

It should be noted in passing that Bakken is poorly served by his publisher, Greenwood Press. The book's small, closely-spaced type is excruciatingly difficult to read. Greenwood has crammed about 4000 characters and spaces on the typical page of *Development*, compared to the 3000 found on the pages of more conventional academic books.

Based on extensive research, *Development* would have benefitted from a more rigorous conceptualization which would have taken it beyond the largely descriptive. □

The Owensmouth Baby: The Making of a San Fernando Valley Town.

By Catherine Mulholland. (Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1987. 193 pp. \$40.00 paper.)

Reviewed by William Kahrl, associate editor, McClatchy Newspapers Inc. and author of Water and Power.

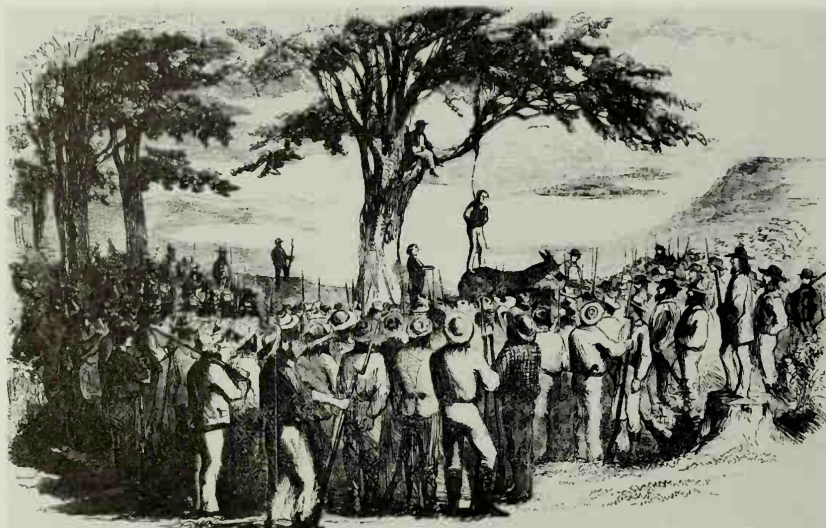
These days, when even the simplest proposals for municipal incorporation, annexation, or a new suburban subdivision tend to spark furious debate, it is easy to forget that California was once populated with a whole generation of experienced city builders. These were the men who learned their craft with the railroads in the late nineteenth century, dotting the landscape with hamlets and town sites as they knit up the unsettled West with new lines of track.

For a man like Hobart Johnstone Whitley, who once claimed to have started a hundred towns in the Dakota and Oklahoma territories during his service to the railroad land agencies, all it

took to launch a new community was "a heap of bricks and a pile of lumber" on the bare ground. People would always come, for there was money to be made in that kind of enterprise.

In *The Owensmouth Baby* Catherine Mulholland recounts how Whitley and his associates in the Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company set about inventing the modern San Fernando Valley communities of Van Nuys, Conoga Park, Reseda, Sherman Oaks, Tarzana, and Woodland Hills. It's a fairly humdrum story of commercial adventure—full of the kind of back-stabbing and hand-wringing that's to be expected where large investments are involved. Whitley's partners turn out to have been neither very nice nor far sighted. Whitley's vision itself seems to have been limited to a sense of orderliness and a distaste for dishonest advertising, which made him something of a scold. While his associates never lost sight of their *amours propres* at the bottom of their balance sheets, however, Whitley was looking for glory, the recognition that he believed belonged to those who worked for Progress. And so, while his associates added to their already vast personal fortunes and moved on to other ventures, it comes as no great surprise that Whitley was rewarded for his labors with bad debts, insanity, obscurity, and a legacy for his descendants of litigation aimed at salvaging something from his tangled finances and failed hopes.

There is a great story to be told here, but it needs to be set against the larger context within which these events transpired. How did Los Angeles officials, for example, respond to the problems involved in such an instantaneous expansion of their domain? What impact did the introduction of so much fertile agricultural land have upon the rest of California's farm economy? How did the rapid conversion of these lands in the San Fernando Valley from farms to suburbs upset the city's own plans for the new water supply from the Owens Valley that made it all possible?



Mulholland unfortunately isn't interested in these issues. She refuses even to address the older conundrum of how much Whitley's syndicate benefitted from the city's plans for the Owens Valley aqueduct—though that question clearly rankles, as well it must have all her life, growing up as the granddaughter of William Mulholland, who built the aqueduct in the first place. What she offers instead is a work of rigidly local and principally nostalgic interest, a memoir by a lady now in her sixties, who remembers fondly what the valley was like when there wasn't much more out there than a heap of bricks and a pile of lumber. □

Badge and Buckshot: Lawlessness in Old California.

By John Boessenecker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. 333 pp. \$22.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gordon Morris Bakken, Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton and author of *The Development of Law in Frontier California, 1850–1890*.

Justice was swift in California during and long after the gold rush era as vividly illustrated in this magazine illustration.
CHS Collections.

This is a collection of twelve narrative essays about lawmen, outlaws, and lynchings in California. The essays are very detailed accounts of specific episodes or the careers of law enforcers or law breakers. Many of the tales are bigger than life. For example, the author tells us that famous six-gun sheriff Ben K. Thorn saddled up in January 1859 and rode to Mariposa County, Colorado, in two days to shoot down an outlaw (p. 66). Students of geography may find the feat beyond belief on at least two counts: distance and time, or merely the location of Mariposa County in Colorado. Regardless of hyperbole, these essays are well-written testaments to the bravery of California's lawmen and the depravity of the enemy deviants who preyed upon society.

Scholars looking for social science analysis, critical legal studies observations, deconstructionist inquiry, or thick description will have to look elsewhere. The author makes it clear at the outset that this book is not a sociological study of crime. The author uses his training at Hastings Law School to describe events carefully, but not to connect the narrative



of criminal justice administration with the failures of judges, the role of appellate courts, or the causes of crime. This is unfortunate because all of these elements may be found in the narrative and the use of narrative may lead some readers to the conclusion that the practicing bar still sees legal history as narrative and static. For legal historians, this book provides data for analysis and for all, entertaining narrative episodes of frontier life. □

Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire.

By Daniel A. Cornford. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987. 276 pp. \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by H. Brett Melendy, Professor of History at San Jose State University and author of Asians in America, Chinese and Japanese Americans, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950,"

and Governors of California (co-author).

Cornford has written about a California region which remained isolated until after World War I when the railroad and the Redwood Highway replaced the Eureka to San Francisco steamer run. California historians have paid scant attention to the Redwood Empire's three northeastern counties of Mendocino, Humboldt and Del Norte. Cornford has focused only upon Humboldt County from the 1870s through World War I.

His history adds enormously to the historical fabric of the area, going far beyond the seminal work of Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-1875* (1929). Coy, trained in a nineteenth-century tradition, traced local political institutions. Cornford follows with great care the several threads of social and political dissent in Humboldt County. Economically, Humboldt County was divided between the redwood lumber industry and agriculture, mostly dairying, which flourished in the Eel and Mad River valleys' rich bottom lands.

From 1875 to the end of the century,

John Vance's logging train, Mad River, Humboldt County. CHS Collections.

Humboldt County saw union organizations and political affiliations form and then fall by the wayside. The historical record of such groups are frequently non-existent as are the biographies of the movements' leaders. It is to Cornford's credit that he ably traced the intricacies of these various movements. He has utilized lumber company records and scoured newspaper files.

This is a history of dissent in Humboldt County growing out of unrest among redwood mills and woods, workers and farmers. Labor and political organizations seem to have continually washed upon Humboldt County shores. As movements came and went—leaders moved from one organization to the next. One of the first successful undertakings resulted from the impact of San Francisco's Workingmen's Party on Humboldt County. The local party elected delegates to the 1878 Constitutional Convention. An organization that drew its strength from county agriculturalists in the early 1880s was the



Greenback Party. Ten years later, Populism gained a foothold as county farmers formed alliances, but this movement too soon died away.

At the same time, the International Workingmen's Association began recruiting workers to protest the growing lumber monopoly. Out of this beginning came the Knights of Labor who were effective politically on the local level for a short time. One difficulty that these labor organizers encountered was the paternalism of the local mill owners, many of whom had an interest in the welfare of their workers as well as their own pocketbooks, which effectively restrained most union activities for several years.

Absentee owners dominated the twentieth-century lumber industry which helped the union movement. Fol-

lowing a major strike in 1907, these corporations utilized a new paternalism, or welfare capitalism, in their company towns of Korbel, Samoa and Scotia.

In a postscript Cornford summarizes the labor history after World War I, passing over the critical confrontation in Eureka in 1935 and the impact of World War II industries upon the labor movement which fostered the lengthy lumber strikes of 1946-1948.

Cornford's study makes a major contribution to the history of Humboldt County and its many social and political undercurrents. What needs to be more clearly stated is just how effective the political leaders were in office and why Republicans and Democrats kept returning to power in the face of these movements. □

Robert Brownlee of Sunny Side Farm, Napa County, and his family: (standing left to right) Margaret Russell, Robert A., George Lamont, Mary Jane, and Frederick James; (seated left to right) Annie Lamont (wife), Robert, and Grace Annie. CHS Collections.

An American Odyssey: The Autobiography of a 19th-Century Scotsman, Robert Brownlee, At the Request of His Children. Napa County, California, October 1892.

Edited by Patricia A. Etter. (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986. 237 pp. \$23.00 cloth; \$12.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Kenneth N. Owens, Professor of History and Director of the Capital Campus Public History Program, California State University, Sacramento.

As he was concluding this reminiscent account of his life and adventures, Robert Brownlee set down his claim upon the good regard of his posterity. He wanted to be remembered as "one who never owed but if justly due, paid it immediately." He never had been party to a law suit nor to a quarrel which occasioned blows, Brownlee declared, and "was always able to take my own part." Scots to the core, this upright, honest fellow at age 80 toiled with pen and ink to give his children and grandchildren a permanent record of the adventures of his youth, emphasizing particularly his experiences as a '49er during the California gold rush. A careful observer, with his eye for detail undimmed by time, Brownlee set down his life story plainly and vividly. We are fortunate now to have his memoir carefully prepared for publication by Patricia Etter, an experienced scholar and a distant descendant of this roving boy from the Scottish lowlands.

Brownlee sailed from Scotland in 1836, at age twenty-three, arrived in New York, then followed his trade as a stone mason first by helping construct North Carolina's capitol building, next by taking a similar job in the frontier state of Arkansas. When the construction boom subsided in Little Rock, he tried farming for a while, and in 1848 made a brief effort at lead mining until a mine explosion nearly took his life. He was still recuperating from his injuries at Christmastime when he learned of the recent California gold discoveries. Immediately Brownlee determined to leave for California as soon as he was well enough. In March of 1849 he joined a party known as the Little Rock and California Mining Association, which travelled from Fort Smith along the Southern Trail through the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and

Arizona, reached the Yuma River in late July, and made the summertime desert crossing to Warner's Ranch without great hardship.

Once in California, Brownlee established himself at the southern Mother Lode camp of Agua Fria, where he and his partners ran a store by day and a gambling hall by night, both in the same quarters. It is his description of life and times at Agua Fria during the mining boom that has greatest general interest, for Brownlee provides us with a series of social vignettes that flesh out our knowledge of that extraordinary time and place. In 1850, he claims, California possessed in proportion to population "more intelligence, more industry and law abiding principles than any other portion of the world." The reason, Brownlee continues, is that in 1849 "none but the better class of citizens could manage to raise funds to get here — the wealthy man or the preacher's son." This idyll ended, so Brownlee recalled, when Australian convicts and "the Evil world from the East" began to arrive. Yet he also declares that even in 1850 among the gambling crowd "pretty much everybody had his Colts revolver of the large size in his belt or sash," another powerful reason for good conduct.

Brownlee's account concludes with a brief narrative of his later life, which included a trip back to Arkansas to claim a bride, a sentimental return visit with his family in Scotland, and forty years of settled success as a farmer in the Napa Valley, an occupation he began "without the least knowledge of managing, or how it should be done." Through all his recital, the author displays the same good sense and decent sensibilities that marked his gold rush adventures, coupled obviously with a native Scots' regard for turning an honest dollar. As revealed in his own words, Robert Brownlee epitomizes that type of sturdy, enterprising person who, after the gold rush excitement had begun to subside, built California's new society on a bed-

rock of granite.

With a minimum of fuss, Patricia Etter has done an excellent job in bringing to print her ancestor's words. Her research is exceptionally thorough, her scholarship unobtrusive, and she can give a confident assurance that at age eighty Brownlee retained an accurate memory of his adventurous years. Her own enterprise, moreover, has been served well by the University of Arkansas Press, which has done a commendable job of publishing. Not simply another account of overland travel, *An American Odyssey* places an interesting and admirable character into the historical literature related to California's gold rush era. □

Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays from the Other California.

By Gerald Haslam. (Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1987. 100 pp. \$7.95 paper.)

Reviewed by James N. Gregory, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, and author of American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and the Making of California's Okie Subculture.

Ninety years ago, California's Central Valley was just that. Central to the geography, it was also central to the economy and held its own in population, politics, and in the imagination of Californians. Frank Norris' saga of wheat and railroads, *The Octopus*, caught the valley in its years of triumph.

Since then the region has slipped badly in the estimation of most Californians. For coastal urbanites who care little about the land that produces their fruits and vegetables, it is the state's null zone, a dull, overheated landscape about an hour wide which slows passage to the holy Sierra.

That is not the way Gerald Haslam

sees the valley. For most of two decades now, he has helped lead a reclamation effort, a small but dogged literary movement of writers and poets who celebrate what he calls "the Other California." An English professor at Sonoma State University, Haslam is best known for his short stories, mostly colorful Faulkneresque tales of the valley's characters and common folk. But nonfiction has also attracted him, and the present volume, *Voices of a Place*, collects ten essays that have appeared in local and national publications over the last dozen years.

Predictably, they are a mixed bag: two are thought pieces on California regionalism, another sorts through the Danny Santiago/Dan James authorship controversy, the rest explore the subject that Haslam knows and likes best, the tough and gritty valley plain folk. To Haslam that means Okies and Chicanos, two groups that mingle in his bloodstream even as they contest the landscape.

The best of the essays take Haslam back to the subculture of his youth. In "The Okies: Forty Years Later" (1975), he picks up the pieces of the Dust Bowl migration that John Steinbeck and Dorothea Lange chronicled a half-century ago. Okies, he tells us have become "state legislators and used-car salesmen, waitresses and college professors...convicts, guards, country music impresarios, construction workers and contractors, farm laborers and winos . . . in a word, Californians" (p. 26). But particular Californians nevertheless. The experience of hardship and their rural origins have left marks. Okies today, he says, are tough minded and two fisted. Conservative politically, they believe in the work ethic, family values, and country music. Inclined toward racial intolerance, their chief characteristic is an "ability to accept adversity with grace and grit" (p. 33).

He follows up some of these themes in "Workin' Man's Blues" (1977) and "Oildale" (1987) as he takes us on separate tours of Bakersfield and the nearby oil town that he once called home. There



One of the early oil field developments near Bakersfield captured in this 1920s photograph. CHS Collections.

we meet the country music industry which was one of the by-products of the Dust Bowl migration and see also the underside of the Okie experience: continued poverty in some instances, lingering racism in still more. The issue of racism pains him greatly. Haslam wants to celebrate the Okie subculture. He loves its toughness, its proletarian directness, and is deeply defensive of its reputation, often sneering at the "thin-wristed experts," white-wine drinkers, and "therapists" who purport to understand redneck racism. It leaves him of two minds. He reaches frequently for signs of inter-ethnic understanding, telling stories of whites who learned to accept blacks and drawing from his own family background the possibility of intermarriage between Okies and Chicanos. The other mind is more realistic. In his "Oildale" piece as well as an article about Mexican farm workers in King City ("Breaking the Migrant Cycle") he acknowledges the racial prob-

lems that divide the "other California" probably even more than the rest of the state. Poverty, he says, is to blame. Chronically poor whites snatch a measure of self-respect in incantations of white pride.

None of this is fleshed out; these are brief impressionistic snapshots not detailed studies. Thus, there is much left unsaid, and some of the characterizations are too wide or too simple. One has to struggle to remember, for instance, that wealthy wine-drinkers also make their homes in the valley and that even some Oildale Okies grew up and became thin-wristed therapists. But especially for those Californians who know only the 70-mile-an-hour version of the Central Valley, here is a good introduction to their state's heartland. □

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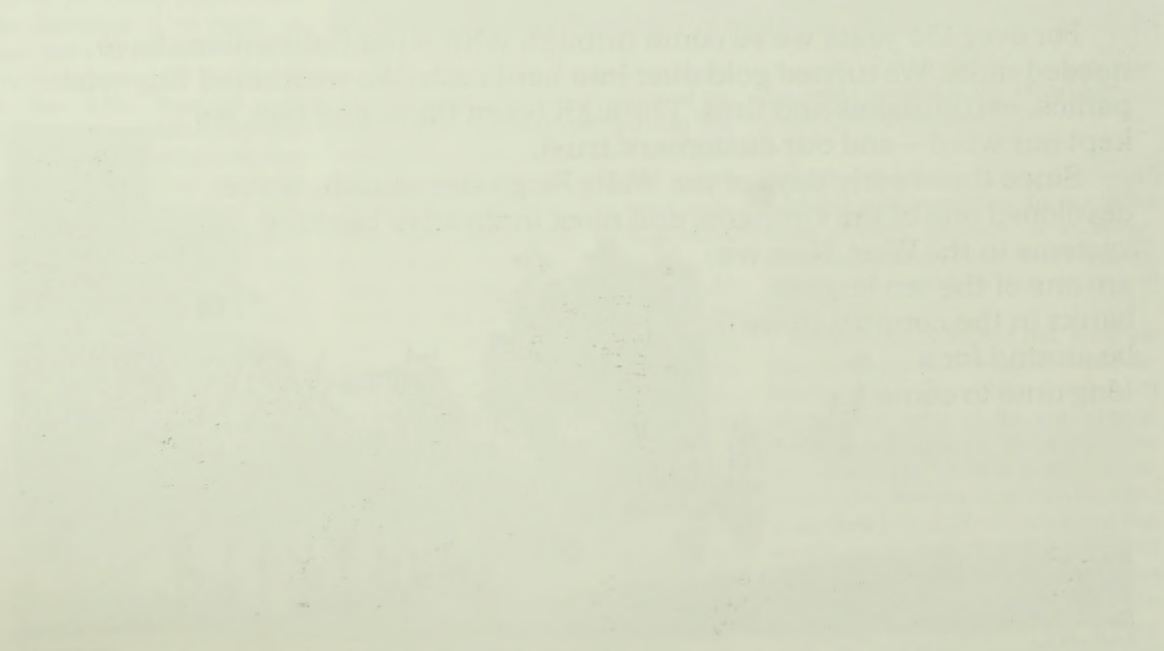
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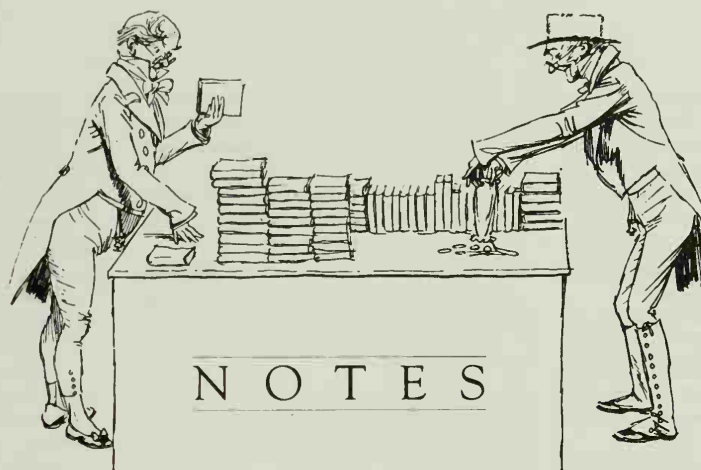
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Morgado, Junipero Serra's Grave, pp. 150-167

1. Maynard Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), p. 252. This is the primary account of Serra's death and burial, recounted in detail on pages 243-254. An excellent secondary account is available in *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M.* by Maynard Geiger (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), 2:375-391.
2. Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo (Mission Carmel) had originally been founded as part of Monterey's military presidio/Indian mission on 3 June 1770. Serra severed the mission on 24 August 1771, and moved it to "the banks of the Carmel River and in view of the sea . . . a truly delightful spot, which, thanks to its plentiful supply both of land and water, gives promise of abundant harvests" (Antonine Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junipero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955-1966):4:259; and 1:171). The information on Mission Carmel's seven churches is from an unpublished manuscript by Maynard Geiger and Harry Downie, entitled *The History of the Development of the Buildings of*

Mission San Carlos, Carmel, California: 1771-1797, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel.

3. Marie Pagliarulo, "The Restoration of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Carmel, California: 1931-1967" (Master's Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1968), p. 12.
4. Maynard Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" *Provincial Annals*, 24 (April 1962):124.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Francis Farquhar, ed., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 106-107.
8. "Father Serra's Grave," *Academy Scrapbook*, 1 (October 1950): 102-103. The stole must have faded, for although it does have somewhat of a violet hue, it is predominantly brown.
9. R. E. White, *Padre Junipero Serra and the Mission Church of San Carlos del Carmelo* (San Francisco: R. E. White, 1884), p. 22.
10. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" *Provincial Annals*, 24 (October 1962):231-232.
11. Photograph, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel.
12. Eric O'Brien, *Padre Junipero Serra: Apostle, Legislator, Builder* (Santa Barbara: The Serra Shop, 1949), p. 25;

and Eric O'Brien to Harry Downie, letter, 19 March 1945, Mission Carmel Archives.

13. The information on Serra's 1943 exhumation is from "The Act of the 1943 Exhumation of the Servant of God Fray Junipero Serra," compiled by Eric O'Brien, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel; and from "Where is Serra Buried?" a twelve-part article by Maynard Geiger in *Provincial Annals* (October 1960-April 1964), especially the following issues: 25 (April 1963):120-123; 25 (July 1963): 186-191; 25 (October 1963):250-255; 26 (January 1964):76-80; and 26 (April 1964):142-146.
14. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" 25 (April 1963):122.
15. *Ibid.*, 25 (October 1963):253-254.
16. Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, p. 235.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
18. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" 26 (January 1964):77.
19. *Ibid.*, 26 (April 1964):143.
20. *Ibid.*, 26 (January 1964):77.
21. *Ibid.*, 25 (July 1963):189, 191.
22. *Ibid.*, 26 (January 1964):77.
23. Tomás Alvarez and Fernando Domingo, *Saint Teresa of Avila* (Burgos, Spain: Editorial Monte Carmelo, 1982), p. 122.
24. A "relic" is an object connected with a blessed or canonized saint, from

- the Latin *reliquiae* (remains). There are three classes: 1) first class—a saint's body, or a penitential object used by a saint; 2) second class—anything a saint used during his/her life, e.g., clothing; 3) third class—any object that has been touched to a first-class relic, e.g., a piece of cloth touched to a saint's grave.
25. Maynard Geiger, "Beatification of Fray Junipero Serra," in Francis Weber, ed., *Some Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial* (Los Angeles: California Catholic Conference, 1976), p. 133.
 26. "President Visits Carmel Mission," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 27 August 1956, p. 1; "Kennedy Denies Charges by Morse," *ibid.*, 30 May 1960, p. 1; and "Visit From the First Lady," *Central California Register*, 29 September 1966, p. 12.
 27. The full title is *Montereyen. seu Fresnen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi O.F.M. (1784). Positio super vita et virtutibus ex officio concinnata*, compiled by Jacinto Fernández, O.F.M., Ph.D. (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1981).
 28. *Montereyen. seu Fresnen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi O.F.M. (1784). Relatio et vota sulla seduta dei Consultori dell' Ufficio Storico* (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1983), p. 9.
 29. Timothy Cardinal Manning, Homily, 28 August 1984, videotape transcript, Mission Carmel Archives.
 30. President Ronald Reagan to Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, telegram, 19 August 1985, Mission Carmel Archives.
 31. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 9 May 1985," Mission Carmel Archives.
 32. Sr. Mary Boniface Dyrda to Martin Morgado, letters, 28 September 1987 and 25 February 1988, Mission Carmel Archives; and biographical information supplied by Sr. Mary Boniface, also in Mission Carmel Archives.
 33. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 11 December 1987," Mission Carmel Archives.
 34. "A Visit to Carmel Mission," *Origins: National Catholic Documentary Service*, 17 (15 October 1987):311.
 35. "Instruction of the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints, dated 20 July 1987," p. 1, Mission Carmel Archives.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 38. "13 October 1987 Serra Exhumation," Transcript, Mission Carmel Archives.
 39. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 11 December 1987," Mission Carmel Archives.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. "Unfading will be his memory" (Sirach 39:9), a Biblical quote used by Palóu to predict Serra's fame. Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, p. 257.
- Beesley, Chinese Americans, pp. 168-179**
1. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; Patrick Tinloy, "Nevada County's Chinese, Part 1," *Nevada County Historical Society Bulletin*, 25 (January 1971): 5; Robert and Grace Slyter, "Historical Notes of the Early Washington, Nevada County, California Mining District," unpublished typescript, no date, photographs between pp. 6-7.
 2. Some representative studies of the Chinese community in the United States include: Gunter Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), p. 111; David R. Chan, "The Tragedy and Trauma of the Chinese Exclusion Laws," *The Life, Influence and the Role of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society, 1976), pp. 193-306; Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 29, 59-64, 146-153, 176-184; Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 63-64, 77, 162; Victor and Brett de Bary Nee, *Long Time Californ' (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974)*, pp. 52-55, 69.
 3. For some of the newer studies of the Chinese community which focus on its women, see: Marion Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), p. 69; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs*, 5 (Autumn 1979): 3-29; Ruth Ann Lum McCunn, *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (San Francisco: Design Enterprises, 1981), pp. 26-208; and Judy Young, *Chinese Women of America*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), pp. 18-23.
 4. The figure of four hundred is a conservative estimate based on manuscript census information for 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910. The total number of females enumerated for those years was 337. The data for 1850, 1890, and 1920 is not available, but would surely have pushed the figure over 400. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 5. Stanford M. Lyman, "The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century America" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961), pp. 329-333; Stanford Lyman, "Marriage and Family Among Chinese Immigrants to America, 1850-1860," *Phylon*, n.v. (Winter 1968): 322-324; Thomas Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns in Grass Valley and Nevada City" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, San Francisco State College, 1972), pp. 103-124; *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, XXII (November 1987): *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; and S.W. Kung in his *Chinese in American Life* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 33, says women averaged about 5% of the Chinese population

- between 1860 and 1910.
6. Ralph Mann, *After The Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 9-34, 71-85, 195-218; Joanne Meschery, *Truckee* (Truckee: Rocking Stone Press, 1978), pp. 43-50, 69-75; and Thomas W. Chinn, ed., *A History of the Chinese In California* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1975), pp. 1-81.
 7. David Beesley, "Our Chinese Legacy: The Chinese In the Sierra Nevada," *Sierra Heritage*, 7 (June 1987): 32-33; Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 103-124.
 8. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 9. *Population Schedule of the 10th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 10. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; Goldman, *Gold Diggers*, p. 69; Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," pp. 3-29; McCunn, *Thousand Pieces of Gold*, pp. 26-208; and Young, *Chinese Women*, pp. 18-23.
 11. Nevada (City) *Journal*, September 7, 1860, October 4, 1861; *People vs. Henry Searls*, 1862, Searls Historical Library, Nevada City, Cab. 6-138; Nevada (City) *Daily Gazette*, December 24, 25, 1867; Nevada County Coroner's Inquest, December 24, 1867, Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-430; Nevada County Coroner's Inquest, February 17, 1871, Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-603; and Nevada (City) *Daily Transcript*, August 6, 1873.
 12. Nevada (City) *Journal*, January 18, 1861.
 13. *Ibid.*
 14. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1861.
 15. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, *History of Nevada County California* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1880; reprinted 1970 by Howell-North Books), p. 76. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 107-108.
 16. Nevada County Grand Jury Hearing, August 9, 1876. Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-471.
 17. Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," pp. 3-29.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Albert Dressler, *California Chinese Chatter* (Sacramento: News Publishing Co., 1927), pp. 21-23.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 109-112.
 22. The marriage certificates or references to them can be found in the Searls Historical Library, Drawer 6, and in David Comstock, *Nevada County Vital Statistics, June 1850 to June 1859* (Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1986), pp. 1-20. The marriages occurred between 1856 and 1885. The record of Ah Sam and Ah How is referred to in Searls Historical Library, LWN 2, p. 282.
 23. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 103-124.
 24. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 25. *Population Schedule of the 9th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 26. *Population Schedule of the 10th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 27. *Population Schedule of the 12th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Population Schedule of the 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 31. *Ibid.*, and Howard Ah-Tye, "The Saga of an Early Pioneer," *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, (October 1985): 2-5.
 32. Interview with Bob Paine, Nevada City, April 17, 1986.
 33. *Grass Valley Daily Union*, September 29, 1883.
 34. Theresa Sparks, *China Gold* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1954), pp. 14-30, 64, 97-119.
 35. Patrick Tinloy, "Nevada County's Chinese, In Two Parts," *Nevada County Historical Society Bulletin*, 25 (January 1971): 1-8; 25 (April 1971): 1-10.
 36. *Ibid.*, 25 (April 1971): 9.
 37. Petition for recognition of citizenship for Lee Gum Sing, Searls Historical Library, Dr. 7 S10, November 2, 1907.
 38. Nevada City *Daily Gazette*, August 2, 1865; Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 115-116; Interview with Harold McCullough, May 17, 1987; and Sparks, *China Gold*, pp. 14-120.
 39. Interview with Ida Mock, March 24, 1988.
 40. Interview with Bob Paine, March 23, 1988.
 41. Sparks, *China Gold*, pp. 14-120; Victor G. and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ' (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974)*, pp. 110-111; and Interview with Ida Mock, March 24, 1988.

Katz, Noel & "Sister Movements," pp. 180-189

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1. Letter to Ed Heim, October 5, 1948, in collection of Frances Noel materials held privately by historian Knox Mellon (hereinafter Mellon Collection, MC).
2. The debate focuses around how "successful" cross-class alliances among women were. Several measuring sticks are utilized: the number of women who were unionized by the groups, the degree to which power was shared by both classes of women with the organizations, or the quality of legislation passed with the assistance of these alliances. For the most positive assessment see James Kenneally, for the most negative see Meredith Tax. Works on the

Women's Trade Union League, the most well-studied cross-class alliance of the early twentieth century, include: Nancy Schrom Dye, *As Equals and As Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980); "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914," in Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie, eds., *Class, Sex and the Woman Worker* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); and "Feminism or Unionism? The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975); James J. Kennelly, *Women in American Trade Unions* (St. Albans, VT: Eden Women's Press Publications, Inc., 1978); Robin Miller Jacoby, "The Women's Trade Union League and American Feminism," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975); Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).

3. Discussed in this article are Noel's involvements in the Wage Earner's Suffrage League, the Women's Trade Union League, the Socialist party, two Los Angeles women's clubs, the Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, and several investigative bodies. The secondary source literature for a study of this type is now quite rich. Most important however, are Noel's own papers, including letters, newspaper articles and speeches, located in two collections, one deposited in the Special Collections Department, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (hereinafter FNP) and the other held privately by historian Knox Mellon, the biographer of Los Angeles Socialist Job Harri-man (MC). Additionally, two labor and left-leaning local newspapers, the *Los Angeles Citizen* and the *Los Angeles Record*, provided articles by

and about Noel and helped to place her work and ideas in context. The Los Angeles City Archives contains scattered material on Noel's many civic activities.

4. Noel's early life is drawn from a taped interview with her conducted by Irving Bernstein in 1952 and located in the University Research Library, UCLA (FNT), and from several documents in the Mellon Collection (MC): letter to Mrs. Hauser, December 18, 1912; "German Home Life," by Noel's son Francis, 1911; a handwritten obituary for P.D. Noel by Frances, 1943; interviews with Francis and Jean Noel conducted by Knox Mellon on August 28, 1967 and January 22, 1977. Noel's birth date appears on her death certificate issued by the Los Angeles County Recorder, MC.
5. The work of Clara Zetkin and August Bebel impressed Noel very much. The German socialist strategy, based upon the development of a close alliance between the labor movement and the socialists, seemed logical to Noel and would become the working model for her and for the socialist movement in Los Angeles. For Bebel and Zetkin's place in the socialist movement and their contributions to theory on the "Woman Question," see Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 26-29, 183-184. For Noel's impression of the German socialists, see the FNT and a diary of her trip to Europe, May to August 1902, MC.
6. On marriage, see letter to Mrs. Hauser, December 12, 1912, MC. While Noel remained a labor activist throughout the 1920s, in the late '20s and '30s she devoted most of her energies to the birth control movement. In the 1940s, '50s and '60s she fought for environmental protection. Noel remained politically active up to her death in 1963. This information is drawn from the FNT and a guide to the FNP.
7. Undated leaflet for the Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, Box 4, Folder 12, FNP.

8. *Citizen*, January 10, 1911 and February 3, 1911; "The Women's Conference of Los Angeles County: Its Aim and Object," Box 4, Folder 12, FNP.
9. Letter to Leona Banta, President of the California branch of the Women's International Union Label League, 1910, Box 11, Folder 5, FNP; Agnes Downing, "Women Suffrage in California," *Progressive Woman*, (5 September 1911): 1; Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230; Bruce Dancis, "Socialism and Women in the United States, 1900-1917," *Socialist Revolution*, 6 (January-March 1976): 120-121.
10. Letter to E. (Ethyl Duppy Turner), October 19, 1911, MC; Downing, "Suffrage in California," p. 1; *Citizen*, June 2 and June 30, 1911, FNT.
11. Letter to Leona Banta, undated, Box 11, Folder 6, FNP; Jacoby, "American Feminism," pp. 133-134; Tax, *Rising*, p. 171.
12. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911. For the extensive and complex suffrage activities of Los Angeles socialist women, see Downing, "Suffrage in California," p. 1. For WESL cooperation with middle class feminists during the suffrage campaign, see Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230; Dancis, "Socialism and Women," pp. 120-121. For Noel's lasting allegiance to NAWSA, see her correspondence with Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, undated, Box 10, Folders 8-9 and Box 11, Folder 8, FNP. For conflicts within the national Socialist party over working with middle class feminists see Tax, *Rising*, pp. 171, 188-194.
13. WESL leaflets, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP; Noel, "Wage Earning Women and Equal Suffrage," *Citizen*, September 12, 1911; speech by Noel, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP.
14. WESL leaflet, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP.
15. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911.
16. Typed speech by Noel, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP, and Noel, "Wage Earning Women and Equal Suffrage," *Citizen*, September 12, 1911. For different interpretations of the meaning of these two types of suffrage arguments, see

- Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 31, 43-44, and 58 and Nancy F., "Feminist Theory and Feminist Movements: The Past Before Us," in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., *What Is Feminism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), pp. 49-55. See also Ronald Schaffer, "The Problem of Consciousness in the Woman Suffrage Movement: A California Perspective," *Pacific Historical Review*, 45 (November 1976): 487.
17. The innovative tactics of the California suffrage movement included the use of billboard ads, electric signs, plays, and car caravans. See Flexnor, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 263-265; Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230. Towards the end of the drive, the *Citizen* published over a dozen articles supporting suffrage in a single issue. See Dancis, "Socialism and Women," p. 122; *Citizen*, August 4, 1911 and September 29, 1911. On Noel's activities, see the *Los Angeles Tribune*, October 29, 1911; *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1966 (an article on the 1911 campaign), referenced in Stephanie Landblom, "Woman on Horseback: Francis Nacke Noel," unpublished senior research paper, December 11, 1966, MC; photo collection, MC. On the "picnic," see "Suffrage Battle Hymn Swells in City Park," *Los Angeles Herald*, July 14, 1911. For the roots of the growing militance and tactical sophistication of the women suffrage movement, see Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," *Journal of American History*, 74 (June 1987): 47-58.
 18. Letter to E. (Ethyl Duppy Turner), October 19, 1911, MC.
 19. Letters from Alice Henry, December 13, 1912 and January 16, 1913; Box 10, Folders 5-6; letters to Henry, Box 11, Folder 7, FNP. For national WTUL proceedings, 1910-1914, see Box 3, Folders 3-4, FNP. Henry's histories of the WTUL can be found in Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Woman* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915) and *Women and the Labor Movement* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923).
 20. *Citizen*, April 17, 1914; letter to WTUL chapters, May 15, 1914; voter registration leaflet (identical to one used in 1912); "A Word to Men and Women," May 15, 1914, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP. WTUL meetings were covered in the *Citizen*, January 22 and March 15, 1915 and articles on the Unemployment Committee appeared in the March 15 and April 16, 1915 issues. Interestingly, the proposal for the Unemployment Committee mandated that half the committee members be women.
 21. Letter to officers and delegates to the National WTUL Convention, June 5, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8. Also see strike support leaflets, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP, many of which were translated into Spanish.
 22. Camp Aliso brochure, Box 3, Folder 13; see also cover letter for brochure, November 28, 1916, Box 3, Folder 13, FNP.
 23. Local WTUL minutes, June 1916, Box 3, Folder 10; letter to the national office from Gloria W. Carr, Box 3, Folder 11; Petition to the Los Angeles Playground Commission, May 3, 1917, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP.
 24. Noel, "Why Women Workers Should Organize," *Citizen*, September 3, 1915. Also see letter to officers and delegates of the National WTUL Convention, June 5, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8, FNP, and Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 206.
 25. For relations to local labor, *Citizen* articles have already been noted above (see n. 20). See also letter from Noel to Minnie E. Warren, March 23, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8. For relations with the Friday Morning Club see article from *Citizen*, undated, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP.
 26. "Organized Labor in Los Angeles Will Assist Club in Important Probe," *Citizen*, May 12, 1913. See also *Citizen*, June 25, 1915 and July 2, 1915.
 27. *Citizen*, June 20, 1913 and September 18, 1914. See also *Los Angeles Record*, undated, Box 5, Folder 10, FNP.
 28. "Organized Labor in Los Angeles Will Assist Club in Important Probe," *Citizen*, May 12, 1913. The findings of the Commission were printed in the *Citizen*, June 20, 1913. See also *Citizen*, September 17, 1915; reports in Municipal Employment Bureau, Box 3, Folder 11, FNP; and report in Public Employment Bureau folder, 1918, Los Angeles City Archives.
 29. Letter from Edson to Governor Hiram Johnson, August 8, 1913, Katherine Philips Edson Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Special Collections Department, University Research Library, UCLA. For Noel's activities on the Commission, see miscellaneous correspondence, position papers, etc., on social insurance issues located in Box 5, Folders 1-2 and Box 10, Folders 9-14, FNP; *Citizen*, October 1, 1915.
 30. Ralph E. Shaffer, *Radicalism in California, 1869-1929* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1962), pp. 15, 169. The fusionists are regarded by Shaffer as the less radical faction of the party. Their rivals, the "extremists", were revolutionary socialists who were less willing to merge with the labor movement, more committed to violent class struggle, and more enthusiastic about IWW style industrial unionism. For Shaffer, the fusionists were about as radical as the reform-minded progressives. See Shaffer, Chapter 8, for a detailed description of the differences summarized here. For Noel's candidacy, see *Citizen*, April 4 and July 25, 1913. For Los Angeles Labor Council endorsement, see *Citizen*, August 8, 1913. For platform, see *Citizen*, April 4, 1913. Noel discusses her candidacy in Estelle Lawton Lindsey, "City Council in Mrs. Frances Noel," *Record*, June 2, 1913. For Wheeler and Noel's joint activity on the unemployment issue, see *Citizen*, April 16, 1915.
 31. Noel, untitled WESL leaflet or speech, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP; Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911; Noel, "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor," *Offi-*

- cial *Yearbook of Organized Labor*, 1928, p. 81.
32. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911.
33. Noel, "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor," *Official Yearbook of Organized Labor*, 1928, p. 81.
34. There has been disagreement among historians about the exact meaning of progressivism. For a summary of the arguments, see Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December 1982): 113-132. My definition comes from Mary Ann Mason Burki, "The California Progressives: Labor's Point of View," *Labor History*, 7 (Spring 1976): 25 and Michael Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890-1966* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 54-55. For agreement on the nature of women's oppression, see Jacoby, "American Feminism," p. 128; Dye, "Feminist Alliance," pp. 227-228; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 202. For discussions of the transitional period in feminist thought about "woman's nature," see Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Fall 1979): 514-526; and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. xiii-xxii. For an analysis of the paradoxes of modern feminism, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 3-10.
35. I am referring here to the support received by the WESL and WTUL from socialists and unionists as evidenced especially by the coverage of these two organizations in the *Citizen*.
36. Another issue which I can find very little information on is racism. In the FNP there are several newsclips from the *Citizen* which indicate that Noel and the Los Angeles labor movement were anti-Asian. It is also very evident that the Los Angeles WTUL attempted to support striking female Mexican-American workers. Noel was close to Mexican anarchists living in Los Angeles and a Mexican woman trade unionist lived with the Noels for a year in the early 1920s. See letters from J.W. Kelly and Consuelo Gonzalez, September 15 and 21, 1921, MC and miscellaneous documents in Box 3, Folder 10 and Box 6, Folder 9, FNP. More research needs to be conducted to see how the labor, socialist, and women's movements in Los Angeles dealt with the issue of racism.
37. For information on the weakness of labor in Los Angeles, see Grace Heilman Stimson, *Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), pp. 333-335, 360, 423, 426. Dual socialist/trade union members include Fred Wheeler, Ralph Criswell, C.F. Crow, Frank Wolfe, and the Noels. See Job Harriman, "Never So Strong As We Are Now," *Citizen*, May 9, 1913. For the roots of the Los Angeles women's movement, see Jane E. Collier, "Early Club Life in Los Angeles," no date, Friday Morning Club Papers, Collection 100, Box 45, Special Collections Department, University Research Library, UCLA and Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, pp. 77-78.
38. For class differences in the WTUL see Tax, *Rising*, pp. 20-21, 108. For an opposing view that is closer to Noel's experience in Los Angeles, see Mary J. Bularzik, "The Bonds of Belonging: Leonora O'Reilly and Social Reform," *Labor History*, 24 (Winter 1983): 66-69 and Jacoby, "American Feminism," p. 229.
39. Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, pp. 204, 318; Kessler-Harris, *Out To Work*, pp. 206-212. Noel herself was suspended from the Socialist party in November 1914 for supporting Progressive party candidates. See *California Social-Democrat*, November 7, 1914.
40. On Noel's labor activities, see miscellaneous documents, Box 4, Folders 10-11, 13-16, 18-19 and Box 11, Folders 12-16, FNP. On her birth control endeavors, see Alma Whitaker, "Birth Curb Facts Told at Meeting," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1927; Box 2, Folders 10, 11, 14, FNP. The exact class composition of the birth control movement in Los Angeles is impossible to determine, but it appears that it was not connected to the socialist or labor movements in the 1920s. The Mother's Clinic served poor women, but was probably dominated by middle class women. Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 297-300. Throughout the period of her life devoted to the birth control movement, Noel never swayed from the concept of women's liberation which she had articulated in the 1910s. Birth control was essential, Noel believed, in order to protect working class women from maternal death, marital unhappiness and the delinquency of unwanted children. While Noel stressed the necessity of poorer women to be able to limit the size of their families for economic and health reasons, she also suggested that birth control would allow women to have more control over their lives. She did not, however, wish to encourage a loosening of sexual mores and stressed birth control as an antidote to "ruined widowhood and motherhood." See Frances P. Noel, "One Viewpoint of Birth Control Movement," *The New American Woman* (n.p., n.d.), p. 8, Box 2, Folder 13 and miscellaneous documents, Box 2, Folder 10, FNP.
41. Noel, "Twin Sister Movement," p. 81.

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(Back cover) Will Rogers being proclaimed honorary mayor of Beverly Hills in 1926, an event which sparked the move to cityhood in 1927. CHS Collections.



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A CENTENNIAL SALUTE



(Above) A pre-1900 photograph of an entry into the Tournament of Roses, a tally-ho, beautifully decorated, drawn by six black horses. CHS/Ticor, a C.C. Pierce photograph.

On January 1, 1989, the Tournament of Roses celebrates the centennial of the founding of this nationally known festival, held each year in Pasadena. What would a New Year's be without the Rose Parade and the Rose Bowl, the predecessors of all like festivals now held in the United States?

The germinal idea for the founding of the festival originated with two members of Pasadena's Valley Hunt Club, the oldest social club in southern California. Professor Charles F. Holder and Dr. Francis J. Rowland must be credited with originating the festival. The first event, held on January 1, 1890, combined two elements: a parade of flower-decorated carriages, followed by public games held in the afternoon at what was later named Tournament Park. The games consisted of foot races, tugs of war, jousts, and an old Spanish game, the tourney of rings in which mounted horsemen, carrying twelve-foot lances, tried to spear three rings hung about thirty feet apart while riding at full gallop. This event, coupled with the display of roses on the carriages, prompted Professor Holder to remark: "Now we have the name we want—the Tournament of Roses."

By 1894 the festival became so popular that reviewing stands were erected along the parade route, a feature which continues to the present. At the same time, by 1895, the Valley Hunt Club could no longer manage the arduous burden that the parade and games demanded. To fill the void, the Tournament of Roses Association was formed in 1896 and assumed responsibility for the annual New Year's event. In 1902 the Association sponsored what was to become famed as the Rose Bowl. The idea was to match the best West Coast football team against one from the east. Thus the first Rose Bowl found Stanford being defeated by Michigan, 49–0. The popularity of this event led to the construction of a stadium in 1922, one that was later modified and enlarged.

Even during the World War II years, 1942–1945, when no parades were held due to wartime conditions, the Rose Bowl games continued on a restricted basis. In 1942 the football contest was held in Durham, North Carolina, featuring Duke vs. Oregon State. The Rose Bowls of 1943–1945 were played in Pasadena, but were restricted to teams from the West Coast due to travel restraints. With peace restored, the Rose Bowl resumed the previous pattern of inter-sectional rivalry, and the Rose Parade returned in greater glory than before.

The California Historical Society salutes the Tournament of Roses on this auspicious centennial occasion. Happy 100th Birthday, and many more to come!

(Cover) Her Majesty, Elisabeth, the Queen of Belgium, planting an orange tree in Mission Santa Barbara's garden, October 12, 1919. From left to right: Rear Admiral Andrew T. Long, USN; the Crown Prince, Leopold; Julius Giebe, OFM, Superior; Queen Elisabeth; Theodore Arentz, OFM, and King Albert of Belgium. Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

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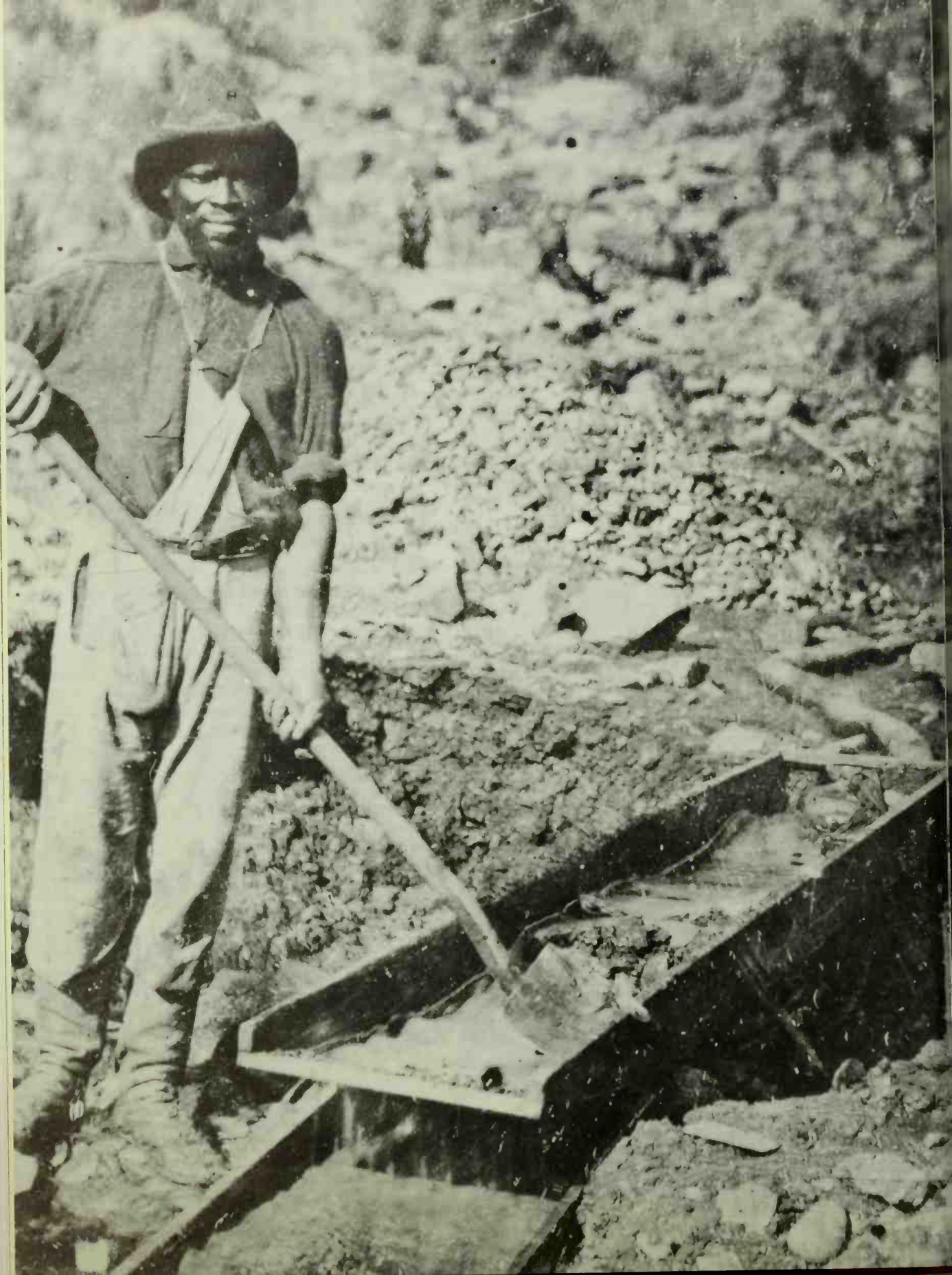
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THE PERKINS CASE

THE ORDEAL OF THREE SLAVES IN GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA

Ray R. Albin

If a man aid a male or female slave of the palace, or a male or female slave of a freedman to escape from the city gate, he shall be put to death.

Code of Hammurabi

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: He shall dwell with thee even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: Thou shalt not oppress him.

Deuteronomy 23: 15-16

ON June 15, 1849, nineteen-year-old Charles S. Perkins left his father's sprawling Mississippi plantation bound for the northern California gold fields.¹ As the eldest son of one of Bolivar County, Mississippi's most prominent slaveholding families, Perkins had elected to temporarily forego plantation life in favor of the back-breaking work and often spartan existence of a gold-rush prospector. In so doing, he left behind a family rich in tradition, and one that had been among the earliest to settle in a largely unsettled Mississippi.

Prior to leaving, Perkins had decided to bring to California one of his father's slaves. He chose Carter Per-

One of the few surviving photographs of a black miner in the California gold rush. This 1852 photo was taken in Auburn Ravine.

kins, a Virginia-born field hand and also nineteen years old. Charles reasoned that slave labor in the gold fields, as in Mississippi, could prove profitable. And, young Carter, accustomed to working long hours in the hot and humid Mississippi delta climate would be physically well suited for prospecting. With Carter's strong back and some luck Perkins hoped to reap a fortune from some rich claim. Then he could return proudly to the family plantation having proven himself in the rugged West.

On arriving with Carter in New Orleans, Perkins booked passage on the Panama-bound, dual-masted brig *Octavia*. According to the newspaper advertisements this "fine, fast [eighty-two foot] sailing brig [built in 1836] . . . has comfortable cabin accommodations, and the steerage will be fitted up so as to accommodate a limited number of passengers."² Those interested in booking passage for her departure on June 23, according to the New Orleans *Picayune*, were requested to "apply to the captain on board." Charles Perkins followed the paper's suggestion and paid approximately \$150 for his cabin and somewhat less for Carter's space in the steerage.

The California that beckoned Charles Perkins and thousands of others in 1849 mirrored the ongoing

slavery dispute that had characterized America for nearly 200 years. The slavery controversy had easily transcended the Great Plains, the Rockies, and the nation's expanding boundaries to surface in a mineral-rich land thousands of miles from the nearest Southern plantation. Though California had not yet achieved statehood, pro- and anti-slave factions existed within her boundaries in 1849. The numbers in each camp changed with the arrival of each new forty-niner. For the most part, slave and anti-slave men co-existed in the gold-fields reasonably well. In the political arena, however, battles would soon be waged to determine the nature—slave or free—of California's state constitution.

As the white population increased in California following the gold discovery so did the black population. In 1849, some slaveholders like Charles Perkins began arriving with their slaves. Some allowed their slaves to work for their freedom. In addition, free blacks began arriving as well. In 1850 and 1851 a much larger group of blacks began to arrive and some of these were free men. By 1852, 2,000 black men and women lived in California.³

CHARLES Perkins and his slave arrived in a bustling San Fran-

cisco on or about October 1, 1849.⁴ Though it cannot be stated with certainty, Perkins and his slave may have resisted the city's temptations and headed directly for the gold fields. We do know that within three months of arrival, Perkins enjoyed some success in an obscure camp in gold-rich El Dorado County.⁵ In turn, no doubt due to favorable correspondence from Charles, twenty-year-old Albert Green Perkins, a relative, and two other Bolivar County men, John and Stephen Kirk, arrived in San Francisco some ten months later on August 19, 1850 aboard the *Sarah*.⁶ Accompanying the three white men were two male slaves from the Perkins' plantation, Robert Perkins and Sandy Jones.⁷

Born in Tennessee, Robert, age forty, and the eldest of the two slaves, was married and the father of five children. His relation, if there was one, to young Carter Perkins is unknown. Perhaps they were kin; or possibly, as was often the case in many Southern master-slave relationships, they were unrelated and had only assumed (or had been given) their master's surname. The other slave, Sandy, had been born in North Carolina about 1812.⁸ The journey west had likewise compelled him to leave his wife and two sons in Bolivar County. According to the *San Francisco Weekly Christian Advocate*, the two slaves worked for the Kirk brothers until sometime in October 1850. At that time they joined Charles Perkins and Carter in

Dr. Hill informed
the three slaves
that they had
fulfilled their
commitment and
were free men.

the goldfields.⁹

Whether Charles Perkins with his three slaves continued to prospect in El Dorado County is uncertain. The four, at some point, may have joined Albert Perkins and John Kirk who were mining in Sacramento County but no evidence exists to support this speculation.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Carter, Robert, and Sandy served their master until April 1851. In that month, Perkins hired Robert and Sandy out to Dr. John Hill. The understanding between Hill and Perkins being that if the slaves faithfully performed their obligation to the doctor and gave their earnings to Perkins, they would receive their freedom.¹¹ Carter alone continued to work with his master until, in October 1851, Perkins hired him out to Hill under the same arrangement as that for Robert and Sandy.

Some weeks later, on November 15, 1851, Dr. Hill informed the three slaves that they had fulfilled their

commitment and were free men.¹² Though illiterate, Carter, Robert, and Sandy may have received freedom papers from Hill attesting to their emancipation.¹³

In the months following their emancipation the three former slaves continued mining on the Auburn River in Placer County. Though the exact location of their diggings is unknown, it was somewhere southwest of present-day Auburn and slightly northwest of John Sutter's Mill, near the town of Ophir.¹⁴

The three blacks found Ophir and the vicinity to their liking. Not long after obtaining their freedom they acquired a four-mule team, harness, and wagon worth \$1,200.¹⁵ They may have derived the capital for the purchase of these items from mining, for the winter of 1851 was one in which "miners . . . were generally very successful, and many new diggings were discovered in the vicinity [of Ophir]. . . ."¹⁶

Using the team and wagon, the three hauled freight to supplement their mining income. Providing that the color of their skin did not pose a barrier to business opportunities, their chances for success would have been good as "four and six horse teams [were] constantly running between this place [Ophir] and the city [Sacramento?] bringing up commodities sufficient to satisfy all the possible wants of our inhabitants."¹⁷ In addition to mining and hauling freight, Robert and Sandy may have earned money blacksmithing.¹⁸ As the three adjusted to their freedom, some thirty-five miles away in Sacramento the California Assembly and Senate debated a controversial bill, that if passed would have a profound effect not only on these three freedmen but also on much of the

Ray R. Albin received his M.A. degree in history from San Jose State University. A junior high school teacher in the Oak Grove School District in San Jose, he also lectures part-time at West Valley Junior College, Saratoga.

state's black population.

BY January 1852, California had been a state for two years. After much bitter debate in one of the most hotly contested sectional battles in congressional history, the enactment of the Compromise of 1850 allowed California to enter the Union as a free state. However, the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions within California remained at odds while the state legislature, also divided along sectional lines, mirrored the divided Congress in Washington, D.C. During the period 1850 to 1852, Californians also witnessed a dramatic increase in their state's black population from 692 to 2,206. It was this increase in the number of blacks, combined with a desire to reduce the state's black population, that led the predominantly Democratic-controlled California Assembly in early 1852 to consider a bill respecting fugitive slaves and other slaves brought to California prior to her admission into the Union.

In January of that year Henry Crabb, a transplanted Southerner and pro-slavery man, had introduced a strongly worded fugitive slave bill to his fellow assemblymen. Section one of Crabb's proposed act stated in part that

when a person held to labor in any state or territory of the United States . . . shall escape into this state [California], the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive . . . and when seized or arrested, to take him or her before any Judge or Justice of this state . . . and upon proof to the satisfaction of such Judge or Magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, that person so seized or arrested

Zabriskie restated the theme he, Winans, and Cole had argued in court—the California fugitive slave law was unconstitutional.

*doth . . . owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such Judge or Magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive . . . to the state or territory from which he or her fled. . . . In no trial under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence. . . .*¹⁹

Furthermore, section four declared that anyone held to labor in any state or territory of the United States and then brought to California prior to her admission "shall be held and deemed a fugitive from labor" if the individual refused to return to the state where he owed service.²⁰ Under Crabb's proposed law, any slave brought by his master to California before its admission who did not consent to return to slavery was to be regarded as a fugitive and subject to the blatantly pro-slaveholder provisions of section one, which

meant almost certain return to bondage. Up to this time California law had placed slaves in an awkward position for it neither condoned slavery nor emancipated the slave. Until 1852 blacks in California who sought their freedom did so on their own. Most depended on their own luck with "help from an occasional anonymous white or black citizen and the good fortune of having their case possibly heard before a sympathetic judge."²¹ Obviously, if the Crabb bill became law the already precarious position of California's blacks would become even more perilous.

Not surprisingly, considering its pro-Southern leanings, the California Assembly passed the Crabb bill. On April 15, 1852, pro-slavery forces in the California Senate mustered fourteen votes out of a possible twenty-three and likewise approved the measure making it law.²² The law would have a twelve-month tenure and could be (and would be) renewed in succeeding years. (It lapsed in 1855 as the political climate in California began to change.) Pro-slave forces now held the weapon they had sought.

Free California, like all the other states in the Union, was subject to the provisions of the new, more stringent national fugitive slave law that had emerged from the Compromise of 1850. California's passage of a fugitive slave law regarding slaves brought into her boundaries prior to admission, however, was unique to free states. The explanation for this phenomena is simple. Other free states did not possess California's large pro-slavery element and thus were not subject to such pro-slaveholder legislation. Angered though the anti-slavery forces within the state were, there was little they

A view of San Francisco in 1850. Looking carefully into the horizon, one can make out the masts of numerous ships at anchor in the bay.



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could do except bide their time and at some point test the constitutionality of the law in the state's courts. Thus, for many of the state's blacks the period after April 1852 became a time of uncertainty and fear.

BY 1852, Charles Perkins had returned to Mississippi and assumed control of his deceased father's holdings.²³ On April 14, 1852, in Bolivar County, Perkins initiated legal action to reclaim the "property" he had left in California. Fully aware that prime field hands were bringing as much as \$1,000 each in the Mississippi slave market, Perkins brought suit and appointed his relative Albert G. Perkins of Sacramento his "true and lawful attorney . . . to demand and sue for, and to use all lawful means to recover possession of the following named slaves to wit Carter, Sandy, and Robin [Robert] from any person or persons in whose possession or employment said slaves may be [.]"²⁴

Here the question arises as to Perkins' knowledge of political events in California. Had he read of the Crabb bill in Mississippi newspapers or had correspondence from Albert Perkins in Sacramento alerted him to the possibility that he might be presented with a legal means to reclaim his former slaves should the bill become law? Or, through coincidence, and unaware of the pending fugitive slave legislation, had he initiated legal proceedings to recover the three blacks while hoping for a favorable California court ruling at some point in the litigation that might follow? The power of attorney document does not mention the Crabb bill, though the phrase "use all lawful means to recover possession" is used. Could this be a veiled allusion to the proposed act? Signifi-

cantly, Perkins' phraseology "to recover possession of the following named slaves . . . from any person or persons in whose possession or employment said slaves may be" suggests that he was unaware of the slaves' recent emancipation by Doctor Hill.

ACCORDINGLY, some six weeks later, on May 31, 1852, near midnight, Placer County, California Sheriff Samuel Asten, Constable James Ross, Albert Perkins, Hardin Scales, John Eubank, and two other men burst into the cabin occupied by Carter, Robert, and Sandy. There, they arrested them as fugitives under the provisions of the recently enacted law of April 15.²⁵ Scales took the blacks' money and gold dust worth approximately \$850 and gave it to Albert Perkins. (Later, a claim filed on their behalf declared that the blacks at the time of their arrest had \$1,000 in gold and money, four mules and wagon valued at \$1,200

and \$1,000 in other property.)²⁶ Then loaded into their own wagon by their captors, Carter, Robert, and Sandy were hauled to Sacramento "by a circuitous route" to avoid contact with any friends the three might have had in the area.

On arriving in Sacramento, Perkins and Scales had their prisoners placed in the city jail as slaves subject to extradition under the new fugitive statute. Later that same day, before a pro-slavery Justice of the Peace, B.D. Fry, the two formally presented their claim for the former slaves.²⁷ Fry, who had ruled in favor of the master in a similar hearing several weeks earlier, later wrote

*three negro men . . . were brought before me . . . by A. G. Perkins . . . and after the evidence of Harding [sic] Scales, Thomas Scales [?] and A. G. Perkins it was proven to my satisfaction that the said negroes are the property of & owed service [to] C.S. Perkins . . . and that upon demand of said C.S. Perkins by his agent they have refused to return to . . . Mississippi. . . .*²⁸

Adhering to section one of the April 15 law, Fry did not allow the alleged fugitives to testify during this hearing. At the completion of the claimants' statements, he awarded Perkins and Scales a certificate authorizing them to convey the said "slaves" to Mississippi. He then ordered that Robert, Carter, and Sandy remain in the county sheriff's custody pending their removal to San Francisco and subsequent departure from there to Mississippi. Despite this ruling, the matter did not end in Fry's courtroom.

Following the hearing, Scales boasted that he had gained custody of the three slaves and that he intended to return them to bondage in Mississippi. Information regarding

Mark Hopkins, famed as one of the "Big Four" founders of the Central, later Southern Pacific Railroad, took an early interest in the plight of the three blacks. His attention was drawn to their predicament by his own black servant.



the hearing, stemming in part from Scales' talk, spread to Sacramento's black population. Subsequently, a black servant to Mark Hopkins, a local storekeeper and later one of the "Big Four" in California railroad history, informed his employer of the case and Fry's decision.²⁹ Concerned, Hopkins contacted Cornelius Cole, a local anti-slavery lawyer who had studied law in New York under one of the nation's leading anti-slavery men, William H. Seward. Hopkins requested that Cole look into the matter. Visiting the jail located across the street from Hopkins' store and his own law office, Cole spoke with the three blacks.³⁰ They related the entire story to him, beginning with Carter's journey from Mississippi in 1849. After listening to the three men, Cole believed he had sufficient cause to intercede on their behalf.

UPON his return to his office at 52 K Street, Cole penned a letter to the prestigious San Francisco law firm of Brown, Pratt, and Tracy. In it, he informed them of the case's circumstances and requested their assistance should the matter require an appeal to a higher court. Next, Cole began planning the strategy he hoped would culminate in his clients' freedom.

On Saturday, June 5, Cole obtained power of attorney from the three blacks; their "X" signatures on the bottom of the document bore silent testimony to their predicament—three illiterate, penniless, black men, alleged fugitive slaves, held in a white man's jail at the mercy of not only the prejudicial April 15 law but also of their new masters, Perkins and Scales. Cole then applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* in which he maintained that

Samuel Deal, the Sacramento sheriff, held his clients illegally and that his clients opposed extradition to Mississippi. The writ was granted and a hearing into the matter was scheduled for June 7 in Sacramento's Sixth District Court.

In the meantime, Cole received a reply to his letter to Brown, Pratt, and Tracy. In the first, Pratt wrote that he would "do all that can be done to prevent men from being taken out of the country or slaves whom I believe by the law are just as free as their pretended owners."³¹ Pratt, however, revealed that neither he nor his partners would defend the blacks without liberal compensation:

In fact, Mr. Cole, I think the colored men [of Sacramento and Northern California] by paying a little each might raise at least the sum of five thousand dollars which would pay pretty well you know for the trouble. I am told there are at least 1500 slaves in the state. Do what

you can to make them rain [give] as handsome a fund for the purposes intended.

The truth is [Harvey] Brown [Pratt's partner], who has as much influence here [San Francisco] as any man in the city with the judges of the courts [and the?] rest of the people, is not willing to take hold of the dark [black] side of these cases without a handsome fee being paid in advance.

If the parties succeed in raining money immediately (and I don't see why they may not) the fees of both yourself [and us?] might as well be paid in advance. . . .

I think we [Pratt and his partners] can do better in this office than any other firm in town. [Frederick] Tracy would go into it with "head and tail up." He is as much of a free soil man as you are although he is not quite as [pro] black.³²

Unlike Pratt's letter, the second response Cole received represented the views of Brown and Tracy as well as Pratt. Written after Pratt's letter at a time when the three attorneys had a chance to discuss jointly the case, their strategy, and fees, it stated in part: "[We think we can] successfully defend and preserve a man from being dragged out of this state under the [California Fugitive Slave] law . . . on the grounds of its unconstitutionality."³³ They also advised Cole that "the sum of one thousand dollars is the least sum for which the constitutionality of the law can be properly tested before the [California] Supreme Court."³⁴ They recommended that "there should be a fund raised of at least five thousand dollars and placed at the disposal of a committee to be used [as the] occasion might require."³⁵

After reading the letters, Cole undoubtedly felt encouraged. And if he was not already cognizant of the fact, he now realized that his bid to

Cornelius Cole (1822-1924) was a lawyer practicing in his native New York State before being lured to the California gold rush. He resumed practice in Sacramento in 1852, becoming attorney for the three former slaves (Carter, Robert, Sandy). Later he served in the House of Representatives (1863-1865) and in the U.S. Senate (1867-1873).



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win the blacks' freedom on *habeas corpus* could evolve into a test of the constitutionality of the April 15 law. Furthermore, he now had assurance that if the case proceeded up the legal ladder the legal muscle of Brown, Pratt, and Tracy, if their fee could be met, would aid the cause.

Whether or not Cole remained as concerned as Pratt and his colleagues regarding his own fees cannot be determined from available sources.³⁶ Neither can it be shown that Cole had a direct hand in raising funds for his clients as urged by Pratt and his partners. Perhaps, as an attorney, Cole realized the impropriety of being actively involved in accumulating money that would, in part, be used to pay his salary. Pratt's June 3 letter to Cole and another from the *Christian Advocate's* editor, S. D. Simonds, revealed, however, that an independent movement existed among Sacramento blacks to provide a defense fund for Robert, Carter, and Sandy. Pratt wrote: "The man [a black] who brought me [your letter] wanted me to put something in writing which he might use in your city [Sacramento?] to aid him in raising money. . . ."³⁷ From Simonds, Cole learned that

*The colored people here [San Francisco] have been applied to by a committee of [from?] a meeting held in Sacramento for [aid to the blacks]. They write here that they have feed [paid] lawyers and paid court expenses to the amount of 400-500\$ and are now straitened for fund[s]. I make no doubt that all necessary help can be had here. I write you to desire you to make a statement to me of what amount and for what purpose money will be needed.*³⁸

Thus, in the days immediately following the arrest of the three former

slaves, blacks in Sacramento had scraped together some money for a defense fund. The degree of success they experienced in furnishing additional money is unknown. But, because Brown, Pratt, and Tracy, along with Cole, continued to represent the three men until the case's conclusion, we may infer that supplementary funds were found.³⁹ Of greater significance is the fact that organized black activism in California appears to have begun with these initial efforts of Sacramento blacks in June 1852 to raise defense funds in the Perkins affair.⁴⁰ Up to this time, as noted above, freedom attempts by blacks had been mostly solo affairs with luck often the deciding factor.

One feeble effort at organization had occurred in March 1852 when San Francisco blacks attempted to mobilize white public opinion regarding black testimony in court cases. This Franchise League, as it

was called, sought to change California state law so that courtroom testimony from whites and blacks would be treated equally. Up to this time blacks, regardless of their status, were barred from testifying in California courts against a white. The League's attempts met with no success and boded ill for future similar efforts. Raising defense funds to challenge the new state Fugitive State Law in the Perkins case proved to be difficult, but less formidable than rallying support for the equal testimony issue. It is entirely likely, though, that some black activists of the Franchise League did organize to support the defense cause in the Perkins case.

AT eleven a.m. on Monday, June 7, thirty-two-year-old pro-slavery District Court Judge Lewis Aldrich entered his courtroom, seated himself, gazed at the large gallery, and prepared to hear arguments in the Perkins *habeas corpus* case.⁴¹ That this hearing seemed likely to be the first test of the recently enacted and controversial fugitive slave law, combined with the fact that Cole and two other prominent local attorneys, Joseph Winans and James Zabriskie, appeared for the defendants explained the crowded courtroom. As he scanned the room, Aldrich undoubtedly recognized Tod Robinson, another Sacramento attorney, seated with his clients, the plaintiffs, across the aisle from Cole. No legal amateur, Robinson a former judge, could be expected to draw on his vast experience (gained in North Carolina) to argue vigorously that Perkins and Scales be allowed to remove their "property" to Mississippi as authorized by Justice Fry.

As he and his co-counsel prepared

Joseph Winans served as Cole's co-counsel in defending the three blacks in court.



to battle Robinson, Cole later wrote that most people present that day favored the respondents and were presumably pro-slavery. He hoped that Aldrich, a Floridian with pro-slavery sentiments, would decide the case solely on its merits. Though he opted to overlook it, Cole was troubled by one other thing: some spectators appeared to be armed.⁴²

As soon as the hearing began, Robinson attempted to end the matter quickly on "a mere verbal statement and reference to the law of the state authorizing the extradition of negro slaves."⁴³ To counter that strategy, Cole requested a formal return to the *habeas corpus* writ which would allow for a presentation of oral arguments by both sides. Aldrich granted the request, and at that point a lull occurred while Robinson completed some legal paperwork.

During the interlude, an armed man suddenly approached Cole and threatened him with "personal violence on account of the case."⁴⁴ Cole immediately alerted Aldrich to the man's threat. At that same moment, a former client of Cole's, B. F. Maudlin, "by no means an anti-slavery man," intervened and subsequently order was restored, fortunately without violence.⁴⁵ Though not relevant to the outcome of the case, this brief incident emphasized the emotional nature that pervaded the hearing.

Following the interruption, Cole prepared to "introduce testimony as to when the Negroes arrived [in California] & to prove that they were free by contract."⁴⁶ However, when Judge Aldrich ruled against that proposal on the grounds that he could not overrule Justice Fry's decree, Cole changed his approach. He appealed for his clients' discharge "on the ground that it did not appear in

the certificate [issued by Fry] that the Negroes owed service or labor under the laws of any state or territory."⁴⁷ Aldrich, content with that line of argument, allowed Cole to proceed.

Cole opened the case for the prisoners by contending in a ninety-two page argument that the California law of April 15, 1852 respecting fugitive slaves

*was adverse to public policy and common justice; that it was a dangerous innovation upon our constitutional rights, that it directly conflicted with several provisions in the constitution of the state of California [and] that without a foundation in the constitution no act of the legislature can become law.*⁴⁸

Following this lengthy appeal, Judge Aldrich adjourned the hearing until the next morning.

Not unexpectedly, the proceedings elicited a variety of opinions in the northern California press. The

San Francisco *Daily Alta California's* reporter wrote: "I think the Negroes will be liberated notwithstanding. Indeed it is difficult to imagine what other course could be taken under a law that is so palpably unconstitutional."⁴⁹ The San Francisco *Pacific* recalled its initial displeasure in April with the California Fugitive Slave Law but added that "since it is a law—and no competent court has yet declared it unconstitutional—we suppose the proceedings are all proper."⁵⁰ The Sacramento *Union* declared

*The first case under the Fugitive Slave Law of the last legislature is now on trial in this city before Judge Aldrich. . . . The only question for the decision of the court is whether the Fugitive Slave Law conflicts with either the Constitution of the State or the United States.*⁵¹

Another newspaper, the San Francisco *Herald*, did not comment on the first day's proceedings, but later opined: "We regard any attempt to disturb the law [of April 15] as very senseless and mischievous. . . ."⁵²

The following morning in Aldrich's courtroom Cole's colleagues, Zabriskie and Winans, strong anti-slavery men in their own right, presented their arguments. In separate statements, both men contended "that a slave brought out of a slave state [into a free state or territory] is by that act free" and that only Congress had the power to make laws regarding fugitives from labor.⁵³ In response, Tod Robinson asserted the constitutionality of the April 15 law and added that California had "the right to send any class of men out of the state [and] that this law was but an act of national or state comity."⁵⁴ Contrary to opposing counsel's statements, he further pleaded that blacks could be taken "into any

territory of the United States and even into some [free] states and yet be held as slaves."⁵⁵

Though the constitutionality of the April 15 statute had never been previously litigated, this debate over a slave's status in free territory was hardly novel. It had echoed often in American courtrooms far from California during the first five decades of the nineteenth century: Did a slave become free the moment he set foot on free soil (the Cole, Winans, Zabriskie thesis), or did his status remain unchanged regardless of where he was taken (Robinson's argument)? As one historian has written, this

*was not just a single issue, but rather a complex cluster of issues. For one thing, it included the substantive question of which law should prevail [free or slave state] and the jurisdictional question of who had the final word about which law should prevail. Still another question of crucial importance was whether the purpose and duration of the slave's residence on free soil made any significant difference in its effect on his status.*⁵⁶

ON Friday morning, June 11, Aldrich rendered a brief, two-page oral opinion upholding California's Fugitive Slave Law. In so doing, he ordered that the three blacks "be remanded to the custody of A. G. Perkins" for their return to Mississippi. Despite references by both sides to the status of a slave residing on free soil, Aldrich refused to be drawn into that highly controversial matter. Instead, he ruled only on the arguments pertaining to the constitutionality of the statute of April 15. For the second time in eight days a magistrate's decision had reduced the former slaves to human chattels.

California's passage of a fugitive slave law regarding slaves brought in prior to admission was unique to free states.

Here the question of Aldrich's integrity arises. It is not altogether unlikely that his pro-slavery background influenced his decision, although concrete evidence supporting such a theory is lacking. Years later, despite the fact that he mentioned the judge's pro-slavery leanings and the opinion that Aldrich had restricted the hearing as much as possible, Cole never accused Aldrich of malfeasance.⁵⁷ And when Cole wrote his former mentor, William E. Seward, on June 14, 1852, advising him of the decision, he did so without accusing Aldrich of making a biased determination. Cole merely described the magistrate's Florida background and then added, "This state [California] has hitherto become more southern in sentiment than South Carolina."⁵⁸

In the ensuing days Sacramento and San Francisco newspapers dutifully reported the decision in the

case (without mentioning Aldrich's pro-slavery background). The San Francisco *Herald*, an alleged independent paper, reflected the southern sentiment Cole had described to Seward:

*Judge Aldrich has decided in favor of the fugitive slave law passed by the last legislature. . . . A good deal of excitement prevailed in relation to this case, and it is not to be doubted that the decision of the Judge was hailed with general satisfaction. It had considerable importance, as it was the first case tried under the law, and we rejoice that it fell into the hands of one so firm and equitable as Judge Aldrich proved to be. We are very much rejoiced at the result.*⁵⁹

Less enthusiastic were the comments of the Sacramento *Union* and the organ of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist Church, the San Francisco *Pacific*. The *Union* declared on June 12: "This decision is one of great importance, and will, we presume, be regarded as final."⁶⁰ In its first issue since the hearing, the *Pacific* reported on June 18 that "The three Negroes [that] were here under arrest for their master . . . have been taken hence on their way home. We hear that his decision is not to be regarded as final; but the case will in some way be taken to the [state] Supreme Court. . . ." ⁶¹

More hostile in nature were the comments of the New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. Under the headline "Slavery in California," it printed the following:

Since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in California by which all those who were made free by the State constitution are again reduced to Slavery, the pro slavery party have received from the decisions of the Courts all the encourage-

ment they could desire. The last arrival from San Francisco brings intelligence of another case where three men were again reduced to bondage after having lived for nearly three years in a Free State, to which they were voluntarily brought by their master.⁶²

ONE week later, in the gloomy pre-dawn hours of June 18, Sandy Jones, Robert and Carter Perkins, escorted by Hardin Scales, filed aboard the vessel *California* anchored at a San Francisco dock. Unlike their fellow passengers, the three blacks were leaving California involuntarily; their short-lived freedom presumably irretrievably lost in Aldrich's Sacramento courtroom.

Refusing to admit defeat despite Fry's and Aldrich's decisions, Cole, too, had journeyed to San Francisco. There he learned that Scales, with the former slaves in tow, intended to sail for Panama. Cole immediately applied for and somehow was granted another writ of *habeas corpus* by Judge Alexander Wells of the California State Supreme Court.⁶³ Accordingly, on the morning of June 18 between four and five a.m., Constable Samuel Harding, acting on the writ, boarded the *California* minutes before its departure and dramatically arrested Cole's clients. He then transferred them to the city jail on Broadway Street pending a hearing before the State Supreme Court on July 6. At the eleventh hour the law's fickle hand had intervened. Perhaps this time, Robert, Carter and Sandy would emerge free men.

The following day the *Herald* angrily reported the events of the previous morning aboard the *California*:

It appears the Fugitive Slave case decided recently before Judge Aldrich in Sacra-

A question of
crucial importance
was whether the
purpose & duration
of the slave's
residence on free
soil made any
significant
difference on
his status.

*mento has been renewed in this city. Yesterday . . . a writ of habeas corpus was issued by Mr. Justice Wells and made returnable before a full bench on the sixth of next month, with the view, it is said, of testing the constitutionality of the law. At whose suggestion or instigation this testing is to be done we are not apprised. The persons who have applied for this writ might have been much more usefully employed. The question to be ascertained is whether these Negroes belong to the claimant; if they do they should be remanded to his custody without the tedious and unnecessary delay of three weeks.*⁶⁴

Also expressing resentment at Cole's action to recover the slaves was Stockton's *San Joaquin Republican*. Under the Heading "The Fugitive Slave Bill" that paper noted: "It is to be regretted that the subject should be agitated. We believe the law of the state to be constitutional. . . . We fully endorse the view of the *Herald*."⁶⁵

Contrary to the views of the *Herald* and the *Republican*, the *Pacific* labeled the blacks' seizure a "rescue." The paper also expressed the wish that in the impending hearing before the State Supreme Court "on the simple point of the unconstitutionality of the [April 15] law will the case be argued."⁶⁶

As it had since the blacks had been arrested on May 31 in Placer County, the press continued to reveal the polarization of feelings surrounding the matter. Though the case's focus had now shifted dramatically to San Francisco, the twin issues it left in its wake, slavery and the state's fugitive slave law, stirred ripples of controversy and dissent in other northern California communities.

Shortly after Aldrich's decision a number of Colonel J. C. Zabriskie's friends, fearing that he "would suffer because he acted as counsel for some colored persons charged with the crime of being slaves," wrote him and expressed a sense of abhorrence "that he should lie under the charge of abolition." They requested that he publicly declare his sentiments regarding the abolition of slavery.⁶⁷ In response, Zabriskie wrote the *Democratic State Journal*, Sacramento's pro-slavery paper and stated his position. Published on June 25, a week after the blacks had been rearrested in San Francisco, Zabriskie's long-winded letter hardly mentioned abolitionism. Instead, the colonel emphatically restated the theme he, Winans, and Cole had argued in Aldrich's courtroom: the California Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional.⁶⁸ This frank response in the *Journal* combined with the incident aboard the *California* further fueled the already burning issue and ensured the matter's continued debate

in northern California's saloons, barber shops, on street corners, or wherever people gathered to discuss important issues.⁶⁹

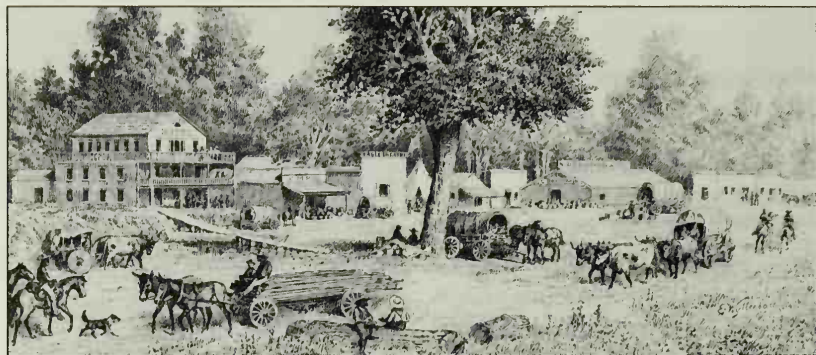
FOLLOWING the former slaves' arrest on June 18, Cole, in Sacramento, and Brown, in San Francisco, prepared for the July 6 State Supreme Court hearing.⁷⁰ On June 21, Cole petitioned Judge Aldrich for a copy of his still unreleased opinion. Later that same week, acting on written instructions from Pratt, Cole tended to legal details regarding Judge Fry's jurisdiction in the initial hearing.

At about the same time Brown, Pratt, and Tracy informed Cole that the blacks, fearing Cole would not attend the July 6 hearing in San Francisco, had selected another attorney to assist in the case.⁷¹ Days later, a disturbed Pratt wrote Cole and revealed:

*We have had considerable trouble with the Negroes. They [are] vacillating from one lawyer to another, today Chitwood [?] tomorrow [Elisha] Cook, and the result is that we alone are in the case. Whether they will succeed in interesting either of those gentlemen in the case remains a matter of doubt.*⁷²

Before closing, Pratt requested that Cole come to San Francisco Saturday evening, July 3, and lend a hand in the argument before the State Supreme Court on July 6.⁷³ Pratt probably wanted Cole present as much as for his legal assistance as for the stabilizing effect he might exert on Robert, Carter, and Sandy.

Whether or not Cole made the journey to San Francisco that weekend is unknown. If he did, he wasted his time. The court postponed the July 6 hearing. Apparently Chief Justice



Hugh C. Murray lay ill in a Sacramento hospital, unable to perform his duties.⁷⁴

FOR the next three weeks the wheels of justice remained motionless due to Murray's continued absence. The prisoners did make court appearances on July 10 and 15 only to be informed that their case would be delayed until a full bench was present.

Equally inactive during this time was local newspaper coverage of the matter. Not long after the first postponement, the *Pacific* printed one of the few articles regarding the case to appear in San Francisco papers from June 19 to July 29. It reminded its readers that the three blacks in custody

*are not Fugitive Slaves. They never escaped from "labor or service," or attempted to do so. They were brought to California before it was admitted [as] a State . . . and therefore according to the fourth section of the miscalled Fugitive Slave Law . . . they are liable to be deprived of their rightful freedom and be remanded to hopeless bondage. Because these Negroes are in arrest under the so called Fugitive Slave Law it is easy to fall into the mistake of calling them Fugitive Slaves.*⁷⁵

On July 27, Harvey Brown wrote Cole to inform him that the Chief Justice finally had arrived in San

Francisco. He advised Cole that arguments in the case would begin on Thursday, July 29, and expressed his eagerness to see Cole in court. Brown ended the short note somewhat pessimistically: "It is a matter of great doubt as to what the result [of the hearing] will be but if we fail we must go with it to the Supreme Court of the U.S. without fail."⁷⁶

IN San Francisco on Thursday, July 29, 1852, debate commenced in the first fugitive slave case ever to reach California's highest court. In the six weeks since the former slaves' arrest, little had changed with respect to the legalities involved. Brown and Cole were expected to argue against the constitutionality of the April 15 law. Tod Robinson figured to challenge that notion as eloquently as he had in the previous hearing before Judge Aldrich. Also unchanged was that for the third consecutive time the issues would be decided by pro-slavery judges who hailed from slave states. Chief Justice Murray of Missouri would preside over the hearing. Associate Justice Alexander Anderson of Tennessee joined Murray on the bench. However, the term of the court's third number, Alexander Wells (from whom Cole had received the second writ of *habeas corpus*), had recently expired. He was replaced by Justice Solomon Hey-

Two lithographic views of Sacramento in 1849 just as the gold rush was beginning to make an impact on the embryonic community.



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denfeldt, but for some unexplained reason Heydenfeldt did not hear the case. His unexpected absence meant that two justices, not the customary three, would decide the matter. Obviously, the even number left no room for dissent. If Murray and Anderson deadlocked, then presumably the case would have to be reheard at some future time before a full bench.

Harvey Brown opened the case for the petitioners. His argument, along with that of Cole who followed, focused, as expected, on the unconstitutionality of the state fugitive slave law. Brown also argued that because of their domicile in California his clients should be regarded as free men.⁷⁷ Both he and Cole were well-prepared, and, according to the *San Francisco Daily Whig*, they presented the facts and law in an able manner.⁷⁸ Following this, his first appearance before the State Supreme Court, Cole returned to Sacramento and therefore missed Robinson's argument. Year's afterward, recalling his impressions of the trial, Cole stated that "the court listened to us attentively, if not with patience."

On June 30, Tod Robinson presented the case on behalf of Albert Perkins and Hardin Scales. He admitted that the California constitution prohibited slavery, but he added that it did not manumit any slave. He

continued with remarks that must have angered Brown and those favoring the blacks' release: "If these persons had not been black there would have been no sympathy for them. But because they were unfortunately black therefore was all this hue and cry against the law, and this denunciation against those who passed it."⁷⁹ Robinson also claimed that California had the right to expel any persons, such as the Chinese or vagrants, who threatened the state. His failure to explain how Robert, Carter, and Sandy posed a threat to white-dominated California may have been the motive for one observer to write that Robinson's remarks were full of "dodge and sophistry."⁸⁰

Robinson's argument marked the end of the historic debate. Justices Murray and Anderson adjourned to their chamber to begin the process that would ultimately determine the status of the law of April 15 and the fate of the men held under it. By trial's end, Cole, his co-counsel, and interested outsiders (particularly California's blacks) who had followed the case the past months remained apprehensive about the ultimate decision. Indeed, the *San Jose Republican's* reporter sensed the same mood when on July 31 he wrote: "A good deal of anxiety is felt as to what will be the issue [result]."⁸¹

A little more than four weeks later, on August 30, the court reconvened. According to the *Herald*, "Very many of the bar were present and the reading of the Chief Justice's opinion together with that of Judge Anderson which followed was received with profound attention. . . ." ⁸² Murray began by declaring that in his view slaves were a "species of property." He continued, unable to conceal his bias: ". . . the increase of a free negro population has for some time been a matter of consideration with the people of this State, in view of the pernicious [emphasis added] consequences necessarily resulting from this class of inhabitants."⁸³ Murray then confronted the question of the status of a slave who had resided on free soil:

*Whether a slave becomes free when voluntarily taken to a free state by his master, is a question upon which the wisest jurists have differed, and one which I do not propose to discuss, considering it, as I do, foreign to the present case. The weight of authority, in my opinion, is that the slave does not become ipso facto free, or that his status is changed; but the master's control ceases for want of some positive law authorizing its exercise.*⁸⁴

In an effort to justify that argument, Murray added that many free states had allowed slavery to exist for slaves who sojourned through their state with their masters. Then, not surprisingly, the Chief Justice proclaimed:

*It is competent for this State to expel this class of persons [Negroes] from her territory. She has done so, and I see no reason why this law should not be enforced. The judgment of the court is that the writ be dismissed and the slaves . . . be remanded . . . to jail . . . and . . . delivered to the master or his agent.*⁸⁵

In his concurring opinion, Justice Anderson filled the courtroom with much the same rhetoric as Murray: "... the theory of domicile is wholly inapplicable in this case"; "... the temporary residence of a slave in free territory does not per se work a manumission, but is simply equivalent to passage through the State . . ."; "... slavery . . . is an institution . . . under which the slave does not possess equal civil rights with the freedman—nor can this be changed by any residence where it is made with the intention to return [to the slave state and slavery]"; and "... slaves are not parties to the constitution. . . ." ⁸⁶

Though undoubtedly discouraged, Cole recognized that

... there was not any other way [except by declaring the April 15 law constitutional] for Judge Murray, able lawyer as he was, to get rid of the habeas corpus. He could not, on any other hypothesis, have sent [the slaves] in charge of Skags [Scales] out of the state. ⁸⁷

Despite this perception regarding Judge Murray, Cole still found the court's decision difficult to accept.

The reaction of the local press to the ruling again reflected a typically divided opinion. The *Herald* declared that the ruling was received with "seemingly great satisfaction" by those present in the courtroom. ⁸⁸ The *Advocate*, which had supported the blacks throughout their ordeal, observed that "As the pleadings went, the colored men are dangerous to the state. . . . Yet, . . . Mr. Perkins insists on embracing these pestilent fellows and conveying them to the bosom of his family!" ⁸⁹ Both the *Union* and the *Alta* reported the history of the case briefly but failed to comment on the court's opinion.

A lithograph of San Francisco in 1852 by Britton & Rey, San Francisco.



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Months later, when word of the trial reached the East Coast, the *New York Times* noted:

This was the first decision under the law in question and settles the question as to the legal right of the master to remove slaves brought into California before the admission as a state had been determined. There are many slaves now resident in that state liable to be removed under this law. ⁹⁰

The *Liberator*, an organ of the eastern anti-slavery press, decried under the heading "Liberty Fallen in California": "More than we feared has come to pass in that state. [T]he worst decision has been made that ever disgraced a judicial bench. The state is now perfectly open to slavery." ⁹¹

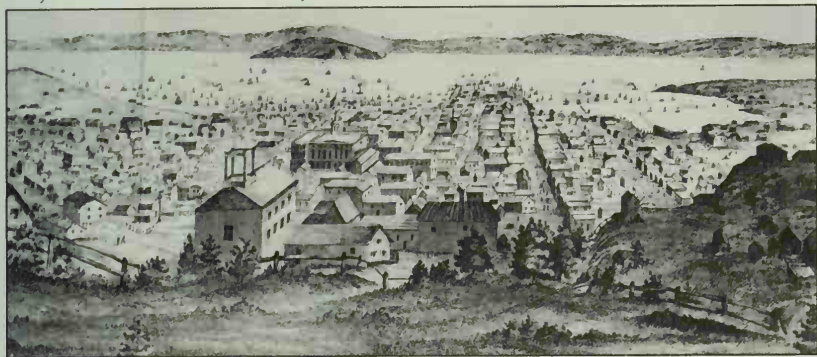
In Mississippi the *Vicksburg Weekly Whig* employed no pro-slavery rhetoric as it reprinted without comment the San Francisco *Alta's* bland description of the case and the State Supreme Court's decision.

DESPITE the unfavorable ruling, Carter, Robert, and Sandy may never have reached Mississippi. Though the evidence is vague, sometime shortly after the hearing Scales (perhaps accompanied by Albert Perkins) and the three blacks boarded a Panama-bound steamer for the long return trip to Missis-

sippi. Two separate sources report that once in Panama one or more of the slaves escaped. Cole remembered: "It afterwards came to my attention that in crossing the Isthmus of Panama Andy made his escape, but I never gained any reliable information on the subject." ⁹² In addition, W. C. Ellis, a California resident, wrote in October 1852, that the three blacks made their escape while in Panama. ⁹³ How he learned of their fate is a mystery.

If these accounts are true, then Robert, Carter, and Sandy probably never returned to ante-bellum Mississippi. Instead, because Colombia had abolished slavery in the Isthmus in 1852, they may have remained there. ⁹⁴ Following the Civil War, and with it the end of slavery in the United States, the trio could have returned as free men to Bolivar County and their families. Available historical references to the three cease, though, following their alleged escape in Panama. Possibly a record of their fate exists in a faded issue of a now extinct Mississippi (or Panamanian) newspaper stored and forgotten in a dusty corner of a library's basement or attic. Or conceivably, a descendant of the Perkins clan unknowingly possesses, in a bundle of old letters in the bottom of a family trunk, the answers to

Another 1852 "bird's eye view," of San Francisco from a hill directly in line with California Street. Artist unidentified.



CHS COLLECTIONS

questions regarding the fortunes of these three slaves.

While Robert, Carter, and Sandy seem to have disappeared after September 1852, the nation's slavery debate remained a highly visible *cause célèbre* for nine additional, agonizing years. During that period many of the issues debated by Cole, Brown, and Robinson in Sacramento and San Francisco continued to resound across the United States and contributed to the ever-widening schism, impossible to mend, between slave and free states. Disputes regarding the morality of slavery, a slave's status on free soil, and a slave's rights or lack of them went unsettled. In addition, from 1852 to 1861, in congressional debates Northern and Southern sectional considerations increasingly took precedence over national interests. And, Congress was not the only branch of the federal government tainted by the slavery controversy: "Judge Murray [in 1852] enunciated the identical doctrine made famous by the judgment of [United States Supreme Court] Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case; namely that a negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect."⁹⁵

In California, the state fugitive slave law was extended in 1853, and again in 1854. However, in 1855 the

law was allowed to expire due to a changed atmosphere in the state legislature regarding slavery. Unfortunately, no record of exactly how many of California's blacks, either slave or free, were placed in jeopardy or returned to slavery because of its provisions has been uncovered. It seems that the increase in the state's black population which the law of 1852 was designed to quell was overshadowed by the large number of Chinese who began to arrive in California by 1852.

THE Perkins case was a watershed event in the history of blacks in California. Thereafter, blacks' "freedom attempts were no longer strictly an individual matter, but were openly supported by *both* black and white segments of the community."⁹⁶ The case also demonstrated a new resolve on the part of the California black community. The ability and willingness of blacks to fight for their civil rights was no longer in doubt.

The organized black movement in California, fostered by the unsuccessful Franchise League of 1852 and then the actions of blacks in the Perkins matter, continued with the meeting of the first Colored Convention in California in 1855. The convention's main goal, like that of the

Franchise League, was to gain equal testimony for blacks in California's courts. Despite two additional meetings in 1856 and 1857, California blacks did not achieve their goal of equal testimony until 1862, the second year of the Civil War. The number of blacks active in the Franchise League who lent a hand in the Perkins affair is unknown. The important thing is that a nucleus of concerned blacks emerged in 1852, weathered the disappointment of the Perkins case, and continued their struggle for equality.

California did not witness another celebrated fugitive slave case until 1858. In that year the case of Archy Lee erupted rather unexpectedly. The black community in 1858, thanks to the inspiration and experience it had gained in the Perkins case and from the equal testimony movement, was prepared to meet this challenge head on. So successful were their efforts and those of the white defense attorney that Archy was released a free man.

Four years after the Perkins case Cornelius Cole helped organize in Sacramento California's first Republican party. Opposed to slavery's expansion, the Republicans attracted anti-slavery men like Cole, Mark Hopkins, and Tracy, all of whom had played a role in the Perkins case. Cole later wrote that

*This incident [the Perkins case] goes some way to show the character of a system which I, as a member of Congress, afterwards assisted in overthrowing, and it is not impossible that my zeal in that movement may have been somewhat augmented by the recollections of the events [in the Perkins matter]. . . .*⁹⁷ CHS

See notes beginning on page 287.

CHICO WOMEN

Nemesis of a Rural Town's Anti-Chinese Campaigns 1876–1888

Michele Shover

The economic suffering so widespread in California from the mid-1870s through the end of the century produced no uglier side effect than the anti-Chinese campaigns which encountered little effective containment over much of that period. Chinese workers from Los Angeles to Yreka were not uncommonly at mortal risk from the arbitrary actions of anti-Chinese zealots. Yet the justice system was widely ineffective both in protecting the state's Orientals and in prosecuting lawbreakers.

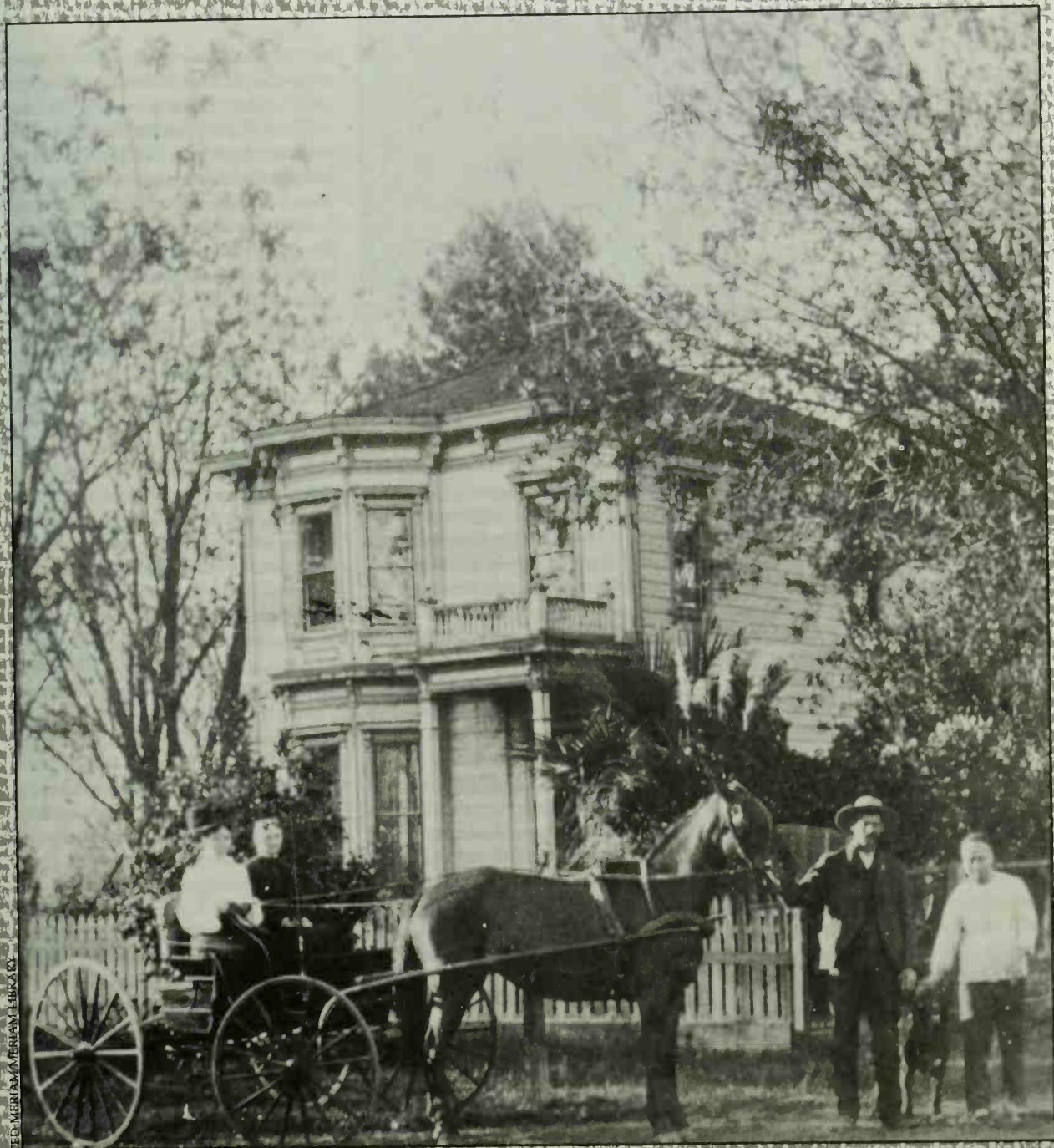
In the Sacramento Valley farm

town of Chico anti-Chinese sentiment was entrenched and in no way reserved to fringe groups or the dispossessed. In light of the extent of this sentiment and the pattern of recurrent violence which it spawned there—including arsons, murders, boycotts, and general harassment—Chico's Chinese population persisted. In order to understand why the anti-Chinese campaign was ineffective in its objective of driving away the town's Chinese until the late 1880s, this study begins by examining that group's relationship to Chico's financially better-off women

whose lives the Chinese dramatically improved. These women's success in exercising their informal influence on the course of the anti-Chinese campaign is explained. Finally, the incidents surrounding a servant's murder of his prominent mistress and a Chinatown arson throw light on the reasons most Chico Chinese decided to leave there in the late 1880s.

Only the slimmest evidence remains of the pervasive presence that southern China immigrants estab-

Chico family and servant about 1880.



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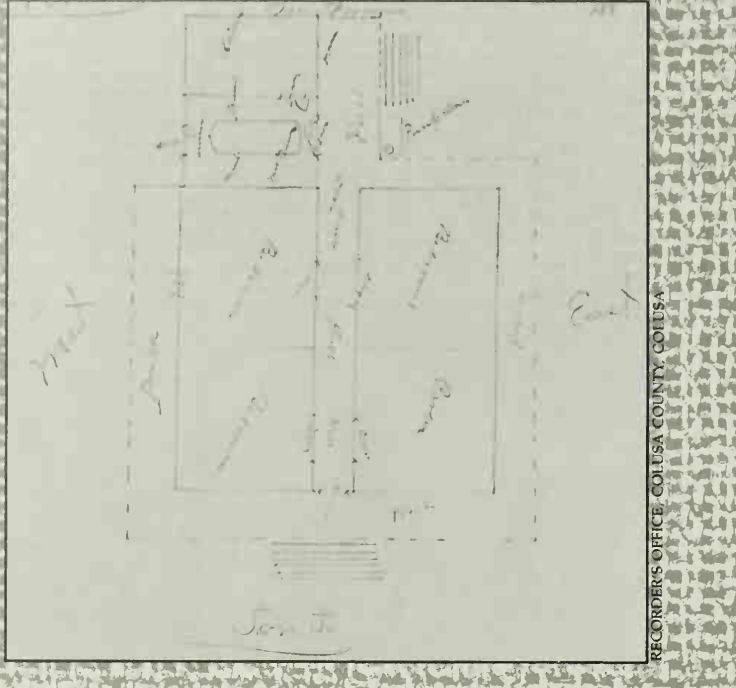


Diagram of Billiou crime scene.

lished in Chico during the 1870s and 1880s. By the 1980s their place in that Butte County community seems so anomalous as almost to be apocryphal. For this reason perhaps history buffs and graduate researchers have periodically pieced together lingering scraps of evidence to reconstruct the Chinese presence in those early years.¹ The present study, which has profited by this previous work, presents additional evidence and new interpretations to explain the nature of the relationship between white and Chinese residents during the 1870s and the 1880s.

The initial presence of the Chinese in Chico during the mid-1860s and the early 1870s provoked tough talk and incidents of harassment but no intimations of impending crisis among Chicoans who set about building the new community with energy and good will. There was plenty of work

for white men which meant that they were not particularly worried by any challenge to their own prospects as the Oriental population steadily grew adding hundreds of foreign residents. No exact figures survive, but at its height in the 1880s there may have been more than 500 Chinese in a community of roughly 4,000 whites. This white population was not impervious to their presence, of course, and expressed unease at mingling with the alien presence. In general, however, whites were tolerant during those early years—certainly this was so by contrast to the severe abuse the white community condoned in the mid-1870s and after.² When the first Chinatown burned after an accident, Chico's anti-Chinese newspaper, the *Record*, reacted with resignation: "It is a pity that these Chinatown nuisances have to be put up with but we suppose they must be submitted to. These people must live somewhere while they are among us and it is better that they should be together and alone."³

This tentative acceptance was to a large degree programmed by the nature of the positions to which the Chinese gravitated. As former miners and railroad track layers, the Oriental immigrants had assimilated the white society's rules for coexistence.

Key to these rules was insistence on separation. This led to an "Eastern joke": "Many white men in California will not sit at a hotel table with a Chinaman, but will follow him two miles after dinner to borrow money from him."⁴ Chinese miners had early become accustomed to separation. They had been confined, not infrequently by violence and intimidation, to second rate mining areas—often those previously worked and abandoned by whites. In addition, the Asians were themselves culturally disposed to separation. They had left China to seek economic opportunity but their intention was to return to their homes. To that end they followed the mandate of their emperor never to cut their queues, the hair which they tied at the back of their necks. In Chico they clustered in two major ghetto areas. They maintained their traditional dress, religion and customs. Chicoans were reluctantly intrigued by their New Year festivities, by their burial rituals, and by their proclivity for walking together in single file talking intently. This practice was a carryover from growing up in crowded towns with narrow streets where they became comfortable conversing in that distinctive fashion.

The work the Chinese assiduously carved out for themselves in Chico was employment that by and large white males regarded as undesirable. This included work at low pay such as picking or drying fruit on ranches that adjoined the town. The Chinese in town made a niche wherein they provided services to their own countrymen as merchants, clerks, professionals or gamblers. A few

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*Oriental influence on
Chico social life.*

opened Oriental restaurants or shops that served their compatriots as well as adventuresome whites. Chinese brothel owners bought and imported their own countrywomen to service the town's prostitution market. And, to the consternation of community arbiters, whites provided an additional market for opium sellers. Chinese also became indispensable domestic employees in private homes both on ranches and in town where their low wages made their services feasible not only to the well-off but even to the middle class.

The 1870 and particularly the 1880 census figures, although flawed, support this contention. By 1880 notable proportions of Chico's Oriental population were cooks or laundry workers. The data show that occupations beyond these categories include a comparable number of "laborers" which would include the vegetable farmers and vendors numerous to the area. Census data are incomplete, however. The Chinese avoided census takers just as they tended to avoid all government officials. This pattern was the consequence of long established distrust. Records of the town's political dialogue, its surviving historical memory, and the still available newspaper coverage of the time are important, therefore, as sources that add flesh to the skeletal nature of the pattern which the censuses suggest.

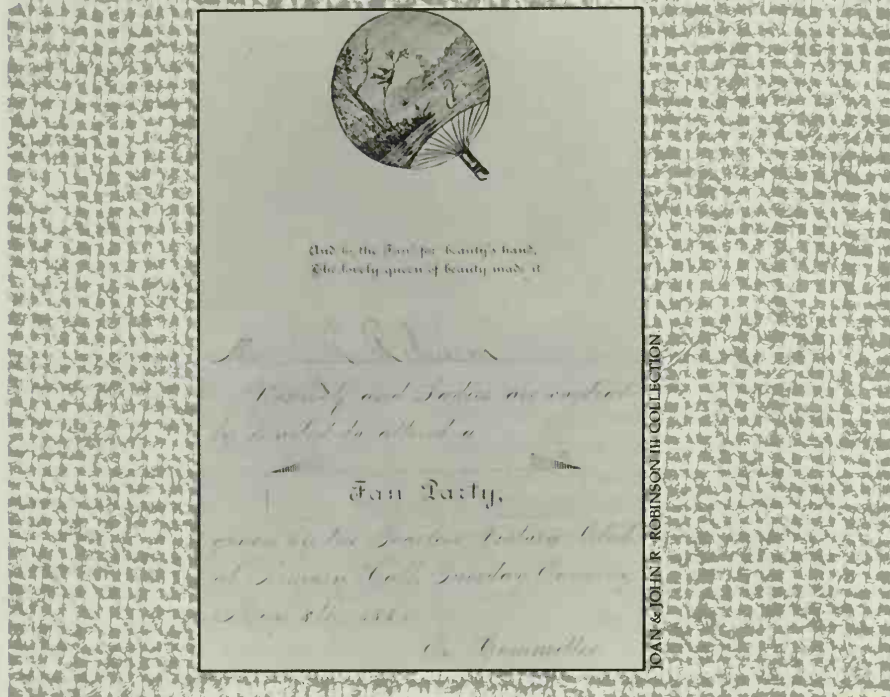
So integral did the Oriental household workers become that some Chico women gave up cooking and in many homes cooks succeeded in banning the kitchen to anyone but themselves. In afternoons, these men often babysat as well by taking the children to play at the Chinatowns while they passed an hour or so at mah jong until time to get sup-

per.⁵ Households took pride in having servants who locally assumed the family name as in the cases of Gee Morehead, Wong Sommers or Fong Canfield. Whereas in the 1860s a Chico wife had been the cook, the gardener of the vegetable patch, and the family member solely responsible for child tending, the advent of willing and inexpensive Chinese help in the 1870s transformed women's lives. Chico's society took an elegant turn as its relatively privileged couples began to exchange large dinner parties where formal dress was now *de rigueur*. With a profusion of Chinese laundries set up along the bordering creeks, residents became accustomed to crisp, sparkling linens no matter how harsh the weather. John Bidwell, for instance, regularly affected the wearing of white linen suits despite the dusty and sweaty heat of Chico summers.

When the Chinese opened their own enterprises they were businesses such as these laundries which were not services white men ordinarily associated with opportunity. In laundries and kitchens the only workers they displaced were poor women who were not in a position to make their objections politically felt. Rather than growing wheat, those Asiatics with savings, initiative, and

luck opened extensive vegetable plots known locally as the "Butte Gardens" south of Chico's suburb, Chapman's Addition, and along the road to the village of Durham. In this strategy the Chinese were similar to free Southern blacks before the Civil War who farmed crops other than cotton and so protected themselves from hostility. The Oriental vegetable gardens became substantial, driving down prices to such a degree that in October 1875 John Bidwell's vast ranch stopped planting row crops for the local market and switched to expand the fields devoted to more lucrative orchards and wheat. The Chinese targeting their services to Chico women's needs were occasionally called "queu-cumbers" as their horse-drawn wagons became a common sight passing through downtown on their way to deliveries at restaurants or hotels. They also made regular rounds along the residential streets where housewives or cooks left their kitchens at the sounds of their approach.

While the Chinese made special alliances with relatively prosperous white women and, as a result, became valued in households, they should not be understood to have done so because they were uncompetitive or retiring. Their survival in



JOAN & JOHN R. ROBINSON III COLLECTION

California always demanded toughness. When Ah Dat was shot dead by Ah Pue on Chico's Flume Street in 1875, for instance, the Chinese bystanders who witnessed the crime happened to be carrying ten and fifteen inch knives. These men were inclined to drinks stronger than tea and their predilection for gambling meant that a good many never could send money home or satisfy their debts to the contractors who funded their passage. The usually placid Stansbury household witnessed the impact of such a problem on their household cook, Gee. While seated at dinner the family was astonished when Gee dashed into the dining room, and highly agitated, thrust the handle end of his knife toward Dr. Oscar Stansbury's palm. Gee was shouting, "You kill me! You kill me!" Dr. Stansbury calmed him and elicited Gee's apology to the family before he retired to the kitchen. The next morning, when there was no warm water in the family bathroom, Stansbury walked downstairs, saw no signs of Gee and found his room locked. Hearing no response to his knock and call, the physician secured a ladder. On peering in Gee's room he could see the man hanging, suspended by a bed sheet. Officials learned that two men had called on him the day previous to the dining room outburst. The men ordered Gee to return to China as his obligation to the countrymen who paid his passage. He refused but was so troubled by his predicament that he committed suicide.⁶

With reliable Oriental help at a cost their husbands were willing to pay, townswomen were free to expand their

roles within the community. The most apparent beneficiaries were the churches where six denominations were competing for support during the 1870s. Many of the same women who were the backbone of their churches were also those who carried the load for the Chico Relief Society which they were instrumental in creating to address the severe impact of the decade's depression. With household staffs to keep their homes functioning for working husbands, women could also make seasonal trips to the mountains, to Santa Cruz, or east on extended family visits. Altogether the services of the Chinese provided the conditions by which life came together in a pleasing way for Chico women. They had made considerable personal sacrifices in leaving their eastern families for California. Their ingenuity and physical labor created comfortable homes under the arduous conditions prevalent in the 1860s. For example, Mary Murdock Compton, a farm wife who lived nine miles from Chico from 1860 to 1871 had only gone into town "about twice" between 1860 and 1871 because she made or produced at home virtually everything her family required.⁷ If these women had a better life in the 1870s they felt entitled. And they grasped that Chinese labor was at the heart of the change.

Of Chico's citizens, therefore, women for the most part were the more open to appreciating the variety and color which the dash of Oriental culture now added to that remote farm town. For the Spring fashions in 1877 the *Record* informed the female readers that "China grape, Indian tissues and all kinds of Oriental fabrics are sought for by choice buyers."⁸ Sydnia Jones was given to stringing Chinese lanterns to light

her stylish garden parties. Invitations carried Oriental themes. Women also came to take for granted special gifts from their Chinese tradesmen and servants on New Year's and other occasions. These presents typically included "China lilies, fine silks, handkerchiefs, tea pots [and] preserved ginger in jars."⁹ Both men and women attended the occasional Chinese theater performances that travelling troupes carried to rural outposts of that immigrant population. Nevertheless, the Chinese in the Chicanos' midst were at bottom their servants and most whites' interest in them did not go deep. To many if not most whites the Chinese were largely indistinguishable as individuals. When physician Samuel Sproul testified in a trial concerning the murder of Ah Pue by another Chinese, he had a hard time identifying the alleged murderer whose wounds he had treated. Sproul told the court "He looked like the same one [Chinese] although I cannot tell one from another."¹⁰ Women felt no greater reason to draw personal distinctions among the array of men who provided household services. They also sometimes made the mistake of assuming that the Chinese, who often appeared impassive to their surroundings, were uninterested in their employers' personal and business affairs. For instance, when the Chinese were present and overheard family discussions, their employers took for granted their apparent lack of comprehension or their discretion. Commitment to retaining their services tended to survive learning that the servants were fully aware of what they were hearing, were actually interested, and not unusually passed their information through the network of family servants through

which it again sometimes filtered back into the white community.

By late 1876 Chico women, like other northern Californians so favored by low-wage labor, had personal reason to feel uneasy when a vitriolic anti-Chinese movement mushroomed in their midst. This faction, which in Chico could command 500 to 600 men for rallies in the Town Hall, was first mobilized in December 1876 to protect the opening of a factory that planned to hire Chinese rather than 200 or more jobs which white men believed had been promised to them. Attention widened, however, to focus on the extent to which Chinese services were established at hearthsides throughout the reasonably more prosperous households of Chico.

During this anti-Chinese campaign of the 1870s the Order of the Caucasians addressed their strategies in part toward undermining the economic base which the Chinese had established in private homes. They called on women to hire white housekeepers as well as to patronize only white laundries and white vegetable growers. A member of the Order even set up a laundry to serve their needs. However, Chico women did not respond to these pleas. They continued to purchase Oriental laundering and foodstuffs, as they had done. While a number of households hired white or black women as domestics, among these were also employers of Chinese. The anti-Chinese movement of the 1870s made no inroads on this bastion of their prey's employment.

By the 1880s this system of domestic service was even more deeply established, of course. When during the early years of that decade a newly organized anti-Chinese movement

surfaced, this fact became apparent. For instance in the nearby mining town of Cherokee, where Chinese women had been barred from living for three years, the townsmen passed a resolution for the discharge of all Chinese employees "except cooks and laundrymen."¹¹ In 1886 this was echoed in Chico where the Anti-Chinese Association (the counterpart to the earlier Caucasian Club) considered a motion that its members should refuse to work for any employer of Chinese. In order for the motion to pass a qualifying amendment had to be added prohibiting members to work "for any man who employs Chinese, except as cooks."¹² The *Chico Record* pleaded with "mothers to train their girls in every Department of household work. If mothers fail to do this the wash must be supplied from some other source."¹³

Anticipating that some mothers would seek "other sources" rather than consign their daughters to such grim labor, the California Women's Immigration Bureau provided a registry of "respectable girls" for domestic employment. Their San Francisco office encouraged Chicanos to inquire. The *Record* took heart at an encouraging development: the sight of vegetable gardens at the homes of "several residents" who planned to grow their own food rather than buy from the Chinese vegetable vendors.¹⁴ They—allegedly but not likely four hundred families—therefore appeased the Anti-Chinese Association survey taker by verbally agreeing to purchase vegetables grown by whites rather than Chinese. Their pledges received impetus from reports that vegetables and fruits handled by the Chinese were the source of higher incidences of diphtheria, cholera,

dysentery, and scarlet fever among children in towns like Chico where this produce was extensively associated with Chinese labor. According to the *Record*, conscientious mothers while grocery shopping should be able to assure their families' safety by looking for a white labor label (although no such labels were used).¹⁵ Vegetable purchases then provide a homely example of Chico women's preference for buying from the twenty-five to thirty Chinese vendors. In the midst of a renewed wave of anti-Chinese feeling in the spring of 1886—within a month of the survey of townspeople on their willingness to buy from whites—a one sentence item in the *Enterprise* summed up the situation: "A vegetable wagon, started in Chico recently by white citizens in opposition to the Chinese peddlers, had been compelled to quit business on account of lack of patronage."¹⁶

What was the basis for women's consistent patronage of the Chinese in the face of such a public campaign by Chico men—not uncommonly their own husbands? In the first place, considerable information suggests that, since their interaction began in the 1870s, women in Chico had developed a sympathetic relationship with their Asiatic servants and tradesmen. Household servants lived within their homes in positions of trust.¹⁷ For instance, in December 1886 when Sydnia Jones, a spirited widow, awakened one night to see a man who appeared Chinese lighting matches at her dresser she did not feel alarmed at the presence of her servant in her bedroom. When, however, she realized that the man riffling through



*Chico Chinese and
New Year's Dragon.*

also recalled a ranch cook who brought to town a gold coin for her upon the birth of her only child, Sybil. The cook awkwardly but sincerely communicated condolences that the baby was a girl.²²

In addition, a considerable number of Chico women had grown up in homes of the pre-Civil War South where they were early accustomed to the idea of close contact with and full services from blacks, or, to recall Libby Manlove Stansbury's usage of the day, "darkies." Her experience was that of Ardenia Morehead who lived in Arkansas until she was 10. Sydnia McIntosh Jones, a native of Kentucky, was 20 on reaching California. Libby Stansbury, as a bride new to Chico, felt initially put off by the sight of the Chinese (she is said to have "shuddered, 'Cooks? Are they good cooks? Are they clean?'"). While Libby Stansbury first hired a black woman to live in, she like other Chico women, northern and southern in origin, quickly grew to appreciate Chinese as servants.²³ Chico's black population was too small to provide extensive services and local people disdained the local Indian population as of any use except to the Bidwells under whose protection they were able to survive there. Mid-western and eastern farm women were not a stable source of domestic help in Chico in great part because men continued to represent a large majority of the population and white women preferred to make their way by marriage rather than as household help.

Finally, women did not support the dismantling of their domestic services or their produce supply system because they were familiar, convenient and—most important—cheap. The Chinese in this as in all else de-

her things was not her servant but a thief in servant's (Chinese) dress she ordered him out. Her servant, Ah Toy, responded immediately to the commotion, as did her daughters, "who rushed to the windows with fish horns which they blew vigorously." Ah Toy fired two shots as he loyally chased after the thief. In another example, when Anna Boucher, another widow, and her teenage daughter, Ella Swearingen, were being murdered by Ella's husband, Henry Swearingen, the Bouchers' Chinese servant hid and protected eight-year-old David Boucher, Jr. as the two were approaching the house and about to come in view. Another example is when Tina Crawford was born prematurely in 1905. She weighed about one pound and was so incompletely formed that her sex was not apparent. The family's Oriental cook, a woman, created an incubator of rags around her. Together with the mother, the two women kept the baby constantly warm for four months by heating successive flat irons which they placed on top of the mound of rags. Dr. Oscar Stansbury recalled four Chinese family cooks as "jewels . . . they proved to be ideal servants devoted to the family, working long hours without complaint and enjoy-

ing nothing so much as preparing elaborate dishes for Libby's dinner parties."¹⁸ One "Chinese cook" George, worked for the Stansburys for four years; another, Mow, for "many years." In the Stansbury family and particularly the James and Ardenia Morehead family the years of service engendered personal trust and mutual respect between the individual Chinese and their employers. The Morehead family recall Wong Gee who worked for them from 1887 until 1947, as their "house and occasional ranch manager, watchman, governess, advisee and loved one."¹⁹ Personal letters exchanged substantiate this mutual good feeling. When Helen Camper married, the gifts included a cameo ring from Charley F. Sue as well as two silk handkerchiefs and a ring from laundryman—called "Washeeman"—Ah Shu. Helen Sommers Gage remembered a Chinese vegetable vendor, whose one-horse wagon stopped at their home and left her mother best quality produce because "'you such a nice la dee.'"²⁰ The vegetable vendors were the older more frail Orientals who could no longer garden. They—and their houses, remembers Larry V. Richardson—smelled so much of celery or onions and cabbage that they later had to be torn down.²¹ Helen Gage

*Gilman Nelson, Jr. and
Steam Laundry rig.*

manded a lower return for their services than did whites. The reason was well established: whites had more costly expectations of what income was required to live decently and, of course, white men were heads of households with all the expenses that standard entailed. White workers, therefore, demanded more for everything they did. Women were deeply sensitive to cost since most had to administer limited household budgets which were allocated to them by husbands who controlled all family funds. Even women of means grasped that every household purchase or service made at a low price freed more of their own discretionary income for church work, travel, dressmakers, milliners, children's private education, household improvements or entertainment. Women, therefore, had a financial interest in maintaining the systems that served their purposes. Although women had no place in the political system, they did exercise predominant influence in the private sphere demarcated by their homes. As a result, they were impervious to the lure of a political campaign that would invade that private sphere to their detriment.

The laundry question remained a particularly sensitive one in the 1880s. The numerous Chinese "wash houses" in Chico earned heavy patronage. Even those women whose husbands brought home only moderate incomes and who could not, therefore, afford live-in help, sent out the family laundry. Women had come to understand this as a base necessity. Laundry—attended by weekly lifting, carrying, scrubbing, bleaching, starching, hanging,

dampening and pressing with five and ten pound irons heated year round on blazing stoves—was the most despised job in women's sphere. Therefore, women patronized the Chinese even though everyone knew that, before pressing, the "ironers" dampened the clothing by squirting mouthfuls of water over it. The women made allowances for this by washing underwear and napkins at home.²⁴ That normally fastidious women were willing to overlook such an unsanitary practice was galling to the anti-Chinese activists. While it is true that some women, such as the elderly Sophronia Maxson, continued to do their own Monday wash, the continuing heavy wash house patronage served almost as a taunt to opponents.

Members of the Chico Anti-Chinese Association had come to terms with women's strong feelings on this point and the proposal to start a steam laundry appeared the best solution. In February 1886 notice circulated about the appearance of steam laundries in Red Bluff and other towns throughout the State to do washing "for those who do not desire to patronize the Chinese workmen." The idea quickly circulated as potentially "a good business in Chico."²⁵ By the following month subscriptions to-

ward such an establishment were well in line and being referred to as evidence that "the Anti-Chinese Association is accomplishing a good and patriotic purpose."²⁶ Within one more month the machinery was underway from the east and the *Record* was gleeful in fantasizing about the reaction at Ah Shu's wash house where, in typical terms, the editor envisioned that "the head squirter of spitting on clothes to be ironed . . . exclaimed . . . 'I tell Ah Ben. Guess we all go to China quick.'"²⁷ By June of that year the Chico Steam Laundry was operating with a boost from fervent promotion within the community.

Why was such promotion necessary? Why did not women, who had charge of family laundry, simply satisfy public demand, give up their favorite Chinese wash houses and patronize white businesses? The obstacles which steam laundries presented to women's acceptance in Chico were actually common to their operation virtually everywhere they were tried. The heart of the problem was a technical one: the machines did not do good work on women's clothes. Since the completion of the railroad, their dresses had come fully to reflect the intricate construction, the variety of delicate fabrics, and



WARREN NELSON-MERIAM LIBRARY



*Sacramento Bee reproduction of
Hong Di photo from wanted posters.*

elaborate ornamentation—piping, tucking, bows, ribbing—favored by well-dressed women in the east. An interview with E.H. Green of the American Steam Laundry in Sacramento which was published in the Colusa Sun and from there reprinted in the Chico Enterprise, a newspaper more moderate on the Chinese question, reveals the difficulty:

Mr Green tells us that he does not solicit general family washing. [Emphasis in original.] Gentlemen's washing and the washing to hotels, lodging houses, etc., is all he has attempted to get. He has some families, but he cannot compete with the Chinamen in the manner of doing it, and can come nowhere near them as to price. For fluting and manipulating ruffles, etc., the Chinaman stands without a rival. . . . It is economy for gentlemen, and hotels, and those having plain pieces, to have their washing done at a steam laundry . . . as the washing can be done almost as cheap as the Chinese do it. We made similar inquiry as to the success of families in hiring washing done at home, or by women on the outside, and find the experiments most unsatisfactory. . . . People are going to have laundry done well and they are not going to pay from five to ten times as much for it. . . . It is only with children's and ladies' clothing that such an

*institution is placed at a disadvantage.*²⁸

Since, therefore, the steam laundries did inferior work on women's and children's garments and were substantially more expensive to patronize—"from five to ten times as much"—it is not hard to see why the steam laundry strategy to force out the Chinese was ineffective. Just as the Chico Laundry was about to open, its Red Bluff counterpart was shutting down. The Enterprise deduced that even though white men of that town were strongly anti-Chinese they had failed to act on their words. The Enterprise should have concluded instead that the Red Bluff men faced the same obstacle as Chico anti-Chinese men: they could not compel their wives to buy reduced service at accelerated rates. Within the next year the Chico Steam Laundry changed hands at least twice and closed in early 1887 possibly for several years. While it was initially open, however, its struggle to survive absorbed much of the residual anti-Chinese antagonism and, so, produced a few months of civic calm.

Within the three months that succeeded its capture of the State Normal School—now a State University cam-

pus—Chico became associated with unsavory feature story material in the San Francisco Examiner and the Sacramento Bee. The Record reflects "Had such a disgrace come upon Chico prior to the location of the Branch Normal School, the Trustees of the State Normal School would have held their noses as they passed through Chico and the balmy breath and sweet kisses of Red Bluff maidens would have won the prize."²⁹

This case concerned a Chinese house servant who murdered the woman who employed him. The ensuing reaction flared anti-Chinese sentiment to a rabid pitch which was all the more exacerbated because the murder appeared to present the frustrated anti-Chinese with a perfect opportunity to undermine the support which the Chinese had consistently found in the community of their white women employers. When news of the crime spread the press and political activists in Chico became instantly engaged by the moral lessons which it appeared to represent. The murder and the ensuing controversy were to issue, however, in a political boomerang that led to the Record's relief that the whole affair postdated the Normal School's sitting.

The event that shook Chico did not occur there but took place at a ranch near St. John in Colusa—now Glenn—County across the Sacramento River west of the Chico Landing, and about two miles south of Hamilton City. On April 9, 1887, Julia Billiou, 50, was seated for supper in company with her daughters, Maude, 12, and Annie, 20. At her right sat Billy Weaver, about 30, a hired hand on the Billiou ranch who was just rising from his meal to finish the evening chores. These were more numerous

Wong Gee, cook employed by prominent ranchers, the Moreheads.

because Joseph Billiou, the ranch's owner, remained in San Francisco where he was attending to business matters. His absences from the ranch for days at a time were not unusual. The trips afforded him an occasional opportunity to see about the progress of two other children, a son at Santa Clara College and a daughter at the convent of Notre Dame in San Jose.³⁰

Before Billy Weaver cleared his chair, the kitchen door opened to reveal the Billiou's cook, 16-year-old Ho Ah Hueng—always called Hong Di—firing a rifle which caught Weaver in the left shoulder and threw him to the floor. Julia Billiou sprang to her feet, quickly moving toward him at just the right angle and quickness to take the second shot in her heart. She died instantly. Billy Weaver's account appears the most sound of those which ensued, in large part because it is in many respects consistent with the description which the assailant later provided. According to Weaver,

Annie ran out and I heard feet shuffling on the porch. I told Maudie to close and lock the kitchen door which she did. She was just about to close the other door when Annie rushed back in and closed the door behind her. I asked her what was the matter, is it tramps? She said no, it is Hong the cook. I looked out the window and could see nothing. I told Annie to open the door quick and see if she could see anyone. She did so and immediately there was another shot. She exclaimed, oh! I asked her if she was hit. She said no, but that the bullet came close to her. It stuck in the door casing. I then put my foot against the door and my back against the wall. Two more shots were then fired and one went within about an inch of me. Blows then sounded on the door and soon a panel broke through and I saw Hong Di with an ax; his gun was leaning against

the wall near him. He pushed the door open and I slammed it again and grabbed up a carving knife and told him I was not badly hurt but for him to come in; I was ready for him. He disappeared then and I saw him no more. Before that I had assisted Maudie out of the window . . . and she ran to St. Johns for help which came in about twenty-five minutes.³¹

The news that the Billiou's cook, Hong Di, had killed Julia Billiou traveled quickly to Chico. The residents were uniformly shocked; from the tone of reports no less so than if a neighbor on their block had been the victim of arbitrary lethal attack. The Billious were prominent ranchers whose primary business and social connections were across the county line—the Sacramento River—in Chico. Julia Billiou was something of an adopted Chicoan because she was a member of Chico's only Roman Catholic church at which she could count a number of loyal friends. Her country home's distance from Chico in general precluded quick to-Chico-and-then-home trips. She and her husband would stay at the Chico Hotel, its best, while they attended to business, church, shopping and visiting. Julia Billiou, five feet five inches tall, gray-eyed and her hair still auburn, was a familiar figure in

Chico where many townspeople knew who she was without being personally acquainted.³² While the Chico press was vigorous in claiming Julia Billiou as one of Chico's own, neither paper ever spelled her family name correctly—always rendering it, no doubt phonetically, "Billou." In the aftermath of her death, while Weaver lay in a back bedroom recovering his strength, numerous Chico friends drove out to the family's ranch where they laid out their friend and made a stunned inventory of the bloody and splintered woodwork in her veranda-encircled home.

Over succeeding days Chico was "in a fever of excitement."³³ A massive hunt continued for the sixteen-year-old cook, whose five feet four inches height and 120 pounds, it was said, made him appear about 12. There was a general understanding that "if he is brought in here while the fever is on, our people will save Colusa County's Superior Court a job."³⁴ Although Chico's Chinese community put up a \$200 reward for Hong's capture, the white pursuers interpreted that as a subterfuge and initiated a painstaking search of the Chico Chinatowns and Butte Gardens, site of the Chinese vegetable plots. This was repeated throughout the northern part of the county where searchers



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distributed photographs of Hong.

A measure of the general tone of the search is apparent in three incidents. When one Chinese ran from a cabin which Deputy Sheriff James Hegan and three posse members had arrived to search, the suspect—not Hong—was shot in the back when he did not halt. No one was charged with the death, a fact not missed by the *San Francisco Call* which chided the “official in Butte, who never thought the murder of the Chinaman, who was killed because he was supposed to be hiding Hong Di, worth inquiry. . . . He was ‘only a Chinaman’ so they shot him, and said they did so because he was going to shoot them; they stuck his body under the sod, and there was an end of him. Highly honorable to the locality where the event occurred.”³⁵ Then in Magalia, a Butte County mountain town, private citizens took it in their heads that an old Chinese vegetable peddler must know Hong’s whereabouts. They necklaced him with a rope to jog his memory but when he coolly persisted in denying knowledge they ultimately released him. Dr. B.F. Clarke, in the third instance, treated still another old Chinese who had been brought to Chinatown in Chico after being strung up near Dayton on the John Bowers ranch by a mob which included the ranch owner’s son. The Chinese man was hauled up five different times and “nearly killed” but was ignorant of any facts and so was released. The *Record* cautioned that “this promiscuous hanging of Chinamen was being carried a little too far.”³⁶ These incidents reflected white citizens’ frustration that the Chinese murderer could elude their impassioned efforts to capture him. This state of affairs con-

tinued for six weeks during which the tone of the newspaper reports become sulky.

Companion to their frustration at the conspiracy to protect Hong Di which anti-Chinese activists alleged was taking place within the Chinese community was their welling frustration at whites. The *Record* was convinced that if they chose to do so, whites could use their power to force the Chinese to hand over the young criminal. Most Chicanos were apparently convinced that Hong Di was somewhere in their midst. “The people of Chico could compel its Chinese residents to surrender Hong Di by uniting to enforce the demand, and do not. . . . If it is in the power of the people of Chico to compel the Chinese to produce the murderer, why not do so? The sacrifice of giving up Chinese, and suspending business intercourse with them would be but temporary, and it would teach them that punishment follows crime . . . and there might result safety in men leaving their innocent wives and children with Mongolian help.”³⁷

In the final statement lay the “rub.” Significant numbers of Chinese had the protection of domestic employment and any fleeing Chinese, the *Record* asserted, would naturally flee to Butte County. “Here his countrymen find employment and protection. Here he can be fed from the back doors of residences by those who employ Chinese domestics, and directed on his way to safety.”³⁸ Observers of the hunt for Hong Di thus obliquely and sullenly alluded to the hard position taken by women determined to protect their labor supply even, to the bewilderment of the Anti-Chinese Association, at the apparent risk of their own and their

families’ safety. This theme recurs throughout the Hong Di episode. Men could not bring themselves directly to acknowledge women’s successful show of unity on this issue. Indeed, because women never publically formulated nor endorsed their position in any organized fashion but only by a unified pattern of conduct, they avoided becoming a clear target.

The murder of Julia Billiou presented an opportunity to the anti-Chinese campaigners that they did not hesitate to employ in order to undermine women’s confidence in and loyalty toward their help. The *Record* suggested that Hong Di was being passed through the Chinatowns and Chinese gardens and would be channeled from there “as a first-class cook in some respectable family. The thought ought to be pleasant to those who indulge in Celestial cooks.”³⁹ And again: “The recent murder of Mrs. Billiou had demonstrated the fact that we must get rid of our Chinese servants as soon as possible. . . . This trusted servant had been raised among Americans from his boyhood [since age 12]. He had been taught to speak, read and write the English language, had attended Sunday schools and was considered a “white Chinaman”. . . . Families . . . [having] Chinamen in their employ today as cooks, who have been faithful and kind for years, . . . may [find] murderers tomorrow.”⁴⁰ Commentators were determinedly naive in grasping who was in *de facto* control of the home labor force as revealed in a petulant appeal, “Let us therefore rise as one man . . . and discharge our Chinese cooks and

houseservants."⁴¹

The sentiment was not entirely confined to the Sacramento Valley. The San Francisco *Post* echoed it in seeing "'the crime'" as embodying "'the principle'" that "'no Chinaman should ever be employed about an isolated house.'"⁴² A final example offered here came first chronologically, but set the tone for those that followed and sums up the anti-Chinese position throughout the controversy: "'We care not to draw a lesson on this subject. . . . If it is not patent to everyone, it would be a work of folly to attempt to make the unbelieving see it. Is it more sinful to let [the Chinese] alone [by boycotting their services] that they may return to their own country, than it is to educate and Christianize them, that they may murder their benefactors?'"⁴³ Despite the example of Julia Billiou's terrible fate and the pleas of the anti-Chinese activists channeled through the press, no perceptible change in the commitment toward their Chinese domestic help ensued. In only one reported case—that of "a friend of the late Mrs. Billou [sic]—did a woman fire her Chinese help and, in this case, hire a woman. The *Record* reported that "she looked the happiness she must have felt in no longer living in fear of being shot, cut down with an axe, or carved with a bread knife while seated at her dining table."⁴⁴

While the press fanned the white public's fear of Chinese servants, no less terror of white vigilantes and official law enforcement permeated the Chinese quarters throughout northern Butte County. So deep seated was the Chinese fear in Chico that when Hong Di fled there to friends shortly after his crime, he learned how desperate his situation was.

Word of his presence filtered through the Chinese quarters and the Chinese vegetable gardens south of Chico, where, the white population believed, a brother lived. But Hong Di found he had been cut off from any help despite his countrymen's sympathy for the story he related to them in his defense. Their own security was at risk.

The best they could do is what they did: they kept quiet. In a note he left on the Chico free bridge across the Sacramento River he explained that he had not meant to kill Mrs. Billiou and that he was "tired of living as he had seen that all Chinamen had refused to protect him."⁴⁵ During three of the six fugitive weeks the terrified young murderer cowered in a granary near Billiou's place where he subsisted on raw wheat grains while he observed Joseph Billiou work in the field.

In the meantime the heat of community feeling fed on speculations not only concerning his whereabouts but also his motives. Despite the conviction abroad that Orientals lack a moral sense or are incapable of western reasoning, a notion persisted that the young Chinese must have harbored some reason for his acts. Imaginations had six weeks to massage the meager facts. A popular theory was that Hong Di had planned to kill all the adults in the Billiou dining room except for 12-year-old Maude whom he would ravish before stealing whatever struck his fancy and then fleeing. Another was that the Chinese, considered sneaky and violent, are likely to explode in unpredictable and destructive rages. But one fact that persisted did not fit: Hong Di had first shot directly at Billy Weaver. Joseph Billiou believed that Hong Di had something against Weaver but he had no idea what it

could be. The curiosity about Weaver and Hong Di intensified when Weaver's friends put together a trip fund and the key witness set off for Missouri the moment his wounds had healed sufficiently to permit travel. He announced that he had to attend to family business in that state but the timing and urgency of his departure raised questions.

On May 22 the emaciated Hong Di was apprehended while walking through a wheat field paralleling a road south of Chico. Claimant to the reward—\$1000 from Joseph Billiou, \$200 from the Chico Chinese, \$500 from the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco, and more—was a traveling Singer sewing machine salesman, A.L. Shubert, who hid his prisoner from the sight of other possible reward claimants. Shubert took the emaciated fugitive to his Chico room where he fed the ravenous, compliant young criminal before securing a fresh team to drive Hong Di to the County jail in Oroville. There Shubert claimed the rewards. Then the capture became public news and, as Hong Di began to talk to the District Attorney, the motive puzzle took an unexpected and, to most, a sickening direction. Hong Di's defense never appeared in the Chico papers but available copies of the Sacramento *Bee* and the San Francisco *Chronicle* must have been passed from hand to hand because the content became widely known.

'I had no trouble with Mrs. Billiou and did not wish to hurt or injure her. She has been good to me and had taught me to read and write and was the best friend that I had. She treated me as one of her family and so did Mr. Billiou. About a



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Durham family cook

against Chinese residents. While the Six Companies' reward money for Hong Di's apprehension was grudgingly welcome this time, Col. Bee's earlier dispatch of his aide, Major Frank Burns, to cooperate in the hunt for Hong Di led to bitter speculation, not only that Burns had helped to conceal the wanted youth, but that "Major Burns told him what excuse to make for committing the murder."⁴⁹ Like Bee, Burns was also already unpopular. He was the official who had stopped in Chico for several days in 1886 to be sure the Anti-Chinese Association knew they faced fines and imprisonment if they continued their boycott strategy. "We have no respect for Deputy Burns. We believe him to be as poor a specimen of manhood as ever disgraced a policeman's star or marshal's baton," said the *Record*.⁵⁰ For these partisans, Hong Di being in jail was getting to be a thornier problem than Hong Di in the bushes.

Before his arrival in Oroville, Col. Bee revealed in an interview that Major Burns had learned about Hong Di's defense fully three weeks earlier, apparently through Chico Chinese whom he interviewed. Burns had also interviewed Weaver and his friends. The hired hand had urged that Hong Di be hung as "soon as they catch him and not give him one moment's time."⁵¹ Such promptitude, of course, would not allow time for Hong to talk. In view of the public's readiness to treat Weaver as a hero, his expeditious departure to Missouri suggested to Burns and Bee that Hong Di's story about fearing Weaver might have grounds. While Hong continued in hiding, Col. Bee thought—apparently hoped—he "might do as so many of his countrymen do, when sorely pressed by trou-

year ago I wanted to leave their place for I had got tired of staying in one place; but she did not want me to go, so I stayed there. Shortly before Christmas I saw her and Mr. Weaver together in the barn, and then Weaver got mad at me and told me not to come to the barn any more to look for eggs when he was there. Mr. Billiou away. He was in San Francisco. I had no trouble with Weaver before that, except one day I went to the barn to get some milk and Weaver ran out of the barn and tried to kick me. Mrs. Billiou got a letter from Mr. Billiou and he wrote that he would be home in a few days. That day Weaver said to me in the washhouse: "Hong Di, I will kill you before Mr. Billiou comes." I thought he would and determined to kill that day [the day of the murder] and had my rifle in the kitchen, where I was at work. When they were all eating supper the door between the kitchen and dining room was open a little and I took the gun and put it up to the crack and shot Weaver. Then I pushed open the door with the muzzle of the gun and it went off and shot Mrs. Billiou accidentally. It was a Colt's repeating rifle. As soon as I saw Mrs. Billiou fall I ran from the house. I did not shoot at the big girl or little girl, nor did I try to chop the door down. I ran away at once, and took a boat and crossed the river and tried to find my way to Chico"⁴⁶

The *Chronicle* and the *Bee* both expressly stated that Hong Di's motive was not believed in Oroville. Nevertheless, the *Bee* also reported that in the Butte County seat, "the sympathy is rather with the Chinaman than otherwise. Weaver has skipped the state it is rumored."⁴⁷ Chicoans and family members were outraged at the slur on Mrs. Billiou's character but the campaign against dangerous Chinese domestics halted for the moment while its proponents regrouped. Hong Di's defense took on added weight when Col. Frederick A. Bee, counsel to the Chinese Six Companies, arrived from San Francisco with his secretary and interpreter, "a Chinese graduate of Harvard and member of the legation at Washington."⁴⁸ Colonel Bee's presence on the scene deepened resentment in Chico. In an 1877 Chinese murder investigation in Chico Bee had raised unwelcome San Francisco reward money for the capture of the young white defendants. He had also funneled money to assist in the successive prosecutions of James Keefer for the murder of a Chinese near Chico in 1879. And in 1886—only the previous year—Bee had cosigned a letter to Red Bluff which impressed on the anti-Chinese activists there that they would be held accountable for acts

Chico invitation refers to value of Chinese servants.

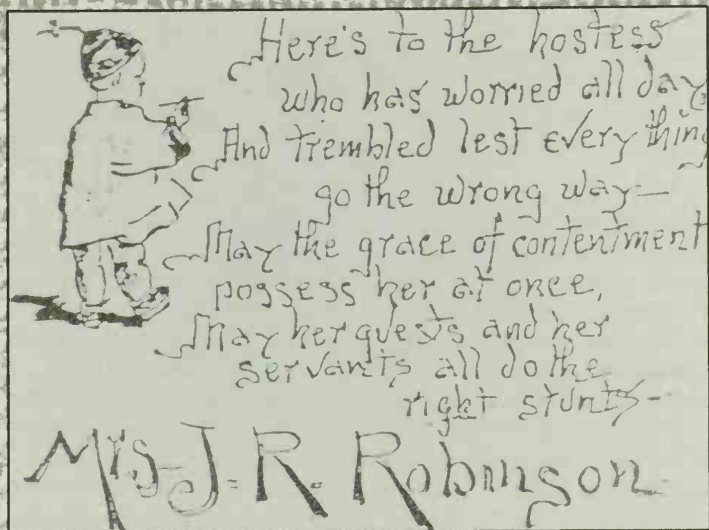
ble, and commit suicide. In that event we never would have breathed a word to disgrace Mrs. Billiou, but would let the matter go to the grave with her. . . . If her friends want to clear the affair let them send for Mr. Weaver, who alone can vindicate her fair name. My experience with Chinese tells me that they always have motive for every crime they commit, and we went about finding Hong Di's motive. Now all we ask, after the revelation has been made, is a fair show for the unfortunate Chinaman."⁵²

Col. Bee's interview with Hong Di at the Oroville jail, like his observations above to the Sacramento newspaper, was never printed in Chico where the results of his work were nevertheless introduced by *Daily Bee* readers and passed along word-of-mouth. Col. Bee questioned the prisoner for several hours, during which, according to his own later comments, he actively challenged the by now well established line of defense to which Hong Di was adhering. Col. Bee succeeded in eliciting a new admission that supported Weaver's description of the murder scene: Hong Di had fired the third shot which nearly missed Annie Billiou when she looked out quickly as he was escaping but he claimed he had not known at whom he had shot. Pressed to substantiate the grounds for his fear of Billy Weaver, he explained to Col. Bee that Joseph Billiou was away a lot: "he not there much." Billy Weaver, Hong Di said, was Julia Billiou's driver on her buggy trips to Chico for church. He added that he had seen them embracing on the porch at Christmastime. The two "were very friendly all the time."⁵³

Col. Bee pronounced the case most peculiar. If, he suggested, the defendant were a white male in the same

circumstances he would only be convicted of assault with a deadly weapon and imprisoned for a few years. Bee was absolutely convinced that Hong Di had not intended to kill Mrs. Billiou for Hong had continuously asserted that "Mrs. Billiou was all the same mother to me, the girl (her daughter) be just the same as sister and I no like talk."⁵⁴ Finally, Col. Bee explained to the newspaper reporter that the reason he and his staff were able to rely on Hong Di's account was that the Chinese are "superstitious and believe that if they die without telling the story of their crime an evil spirit will hover over their graves constantly and they can have no peace. Hong Di had been thinking about these things and unloosed his tongue."⁵⁵ The *Chico Record* was at a loss to decide whether Col. Bee or Hong Di "deserves the gibbet most."⁵⁶

Hong Di was transported from Oroville during the night to the Colusa County jail where he awaited trial. The secrecy was necessary because lynching had become a public refrain not only in Chico but now in Oroville and Colusa. Joseph Billiou spoke up on his wife's behalf and extended his support to Weaver who felt secure enough to return to the area from Missouri, his left arm still useless.



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Friends spoke of Julia Billiou's "purity and virtue and . . . her high Christian character."⁵⁷ Her age, 50—she was referred to as "elderly"—further discredited the credibility of Hong Di's story.⁵⁸ Vengeance upon Hong Di came to be seen as necessary to redeem her good name and that of the Billiou family. So certain was the populace that a jury would make his hanging legal, that no attempts were made to lynch Hong Di before his trial. As the *Record* put it "there is more satisfaction for all in allowing the law the execute him."⁵⁹ Perhaps to convey this expectation, the men of the village of St. John razed its Chinatown. Using ropes, hooks and other "tools of destruction" they leveled it and sent off the occupants leaving their "Chinatown . . . so completely a thing of the past as if it had been swept away by an irresistible hurricane."⁶⁰

That Hong Di's vilification was more a campaign of area men than women is suggested by his experience in the Colusa County jail. Residents of the town of Colusa and its environs were deeply curious about their celebrity criminal. Bowing to this curiosity, the Sheriff permitted citizens to file through the jail

and observe Hong Di who "stood at the grating and stolidly watched the procession" pass his cell.⁶¹ The *Daily Bee* was struck by how the sight of the boy "Troubled Feminine Hearts." This phenomenon was evident in "several ladies whose feminine hearts seemed to be much troubled with misplaced sympathy at the boyish appearance of 'poor Hong.'" ⁶² Neither the *Bee* reporters—nor any other observers it appears—grasped that some women might have a perception that could simultaneously feel moved by the fate of Julia Billiou and the plight of her murderer.

In early June 1887 a Colusa County jury tried Ho An Hueng, or Hong Di. His defense lawyer had raised brief and *pro forma* technical challenges at the preliminary examination, then quit the case without notice the day before the trial opened. A prominent attorney, T.J. Hart, agreed to assume Hong Di's case but the judge denied Hart's request for an extension. Hart had argued that on the day before the trial was to begin he as the defendant's lawyer had "only had five minutes of time in which to consult" with his client.⁶³ Under these circumstances Hart's greatest contribution on behalf of Hong Di was to influence the judge's instructions to the jury and to convey to the panel Hong's fear of being killed by Weaver. Witnesses for the prosecution related the order of events they recalled on the day Mrs. Billiou was killed. Hong Di responded on the same subject. Newspaper accounts suggest, however, that the full account of his purported underlying motive was never raised for examination. The jury remained out until near midnight. When it announced readiness to give its verdict, the judge, E.A. Bridgeford, refused to hear their decision

until daylight.

The jury declared Hong Di guilty of murder in the first degree and pronounced the penalty of life imprisonment. Their verdict clearly indicated that the jury believed Hong acted in reaction to "some extenuating fact or circumstance" it was within their own discretion to pronounce "such a sentence as will relieve the defendant from the extreme penalty of the law."⁶⁴

The crowd, which had counted on hearing the death penalty, immediately roared its objection to the jury's verdict and surged to take Hong Di, who was only with difficulty removed by the sheriff and his deputies. The excitement grew stronger as the day went on. "The jury slunk around like whipped curs, being met with sneers and curses on every side."⁶⁵ Now secure, Billy Weaver strutted back and forth past the window of Hong Di's cell without succeeding in getting his attention. When the growth of the armed mob had grown to ominous proportions by early evening, the sheriff decided that subterfuge was his only recourse. He ordered the jail surrounded by the local Guard unit and his deputies who received a closed carriage which rushed to the jail door, paused and sped quickly away. Meanwhile he had hidden Hong Di in a "secret" cell below the floor, its hatch covered by a carpet. When the carriage drove off the local Guard and deputies withdrew to the outskirts of Colusa. The jail was left dark and unprotected—even unlocked.

The ruse was unsuccessful. While part of the mob surrounded the Guard encampment, at 12:30 a.m. others entered the jail and raised the trap door to find Hong Di lying in terror under his bed. At the depot

with a noose around his neck he was "pressed to talk and said Weaver had always been good to him, that he was drunk when he did the shooting."⁶⁶

Officials cut down Hong's body the next morning. The jury's "cowardice" was held responsible for the lynching and "the town [was] wild with excitement and delirious with joy."⁶⁷ The Colusa coroner caught the spirit of the moment at the inquest, describing Hong Di's complexion as "like any other ashen Chinaman."⁶⁸ The coroner's jury, similarly, used its required report to condemn the jury, to vindicate Julia Billiou's character, to excoriate Hong Di and to declare that the lynching had restored justice.

The usually moderate *Chico Enterprise* made its own contribution to the tenor of events when, in recounting what had happened, it published the names of the jury members with an unusual application of graphics:

Elias Blake	Jacob Elliston
Mark Hubbard	Sam Gilmour
H.K. Gay	Z.T. Cowart
Clark Harneson	Edward Davis
W.H. Cushman	I.M. Johnson
T.H. Harlan	Matthew Edge ⁶⁹

Chico was caught up in the spirit of the moment. A collection of "rowdies" burned effigies of the *San Francisco Examiner* and the *Sacramento Bee*. Not to be outdone, the Marysville *Appeal* thought the hanging of Hong Di a salutary exercise that ought to be repeated periodically to present the Chinese with "'an impressive object lesson.'" ⁷⁰ This went too far even for the *Chico Record* which cautioned, "Better let them go to their own country."⁷¹ The *Record's* writers felt conflicted. Hong Di's statement on the gallows that he was drunk was not as satisfying as a retraction of his

Sydnia M. Jones family servant.

statements about Julia Billiou and Billy Weaver but was good enough to "show that the lives of the family of Mr. Billou [sic] were in jeopardy."⁷² Presumably then the statement was therefore good enough to justify the *Record's* systematic use of the Billiou tragedy to fuel its campaign against women's reliance on Chinese services. Billy Weaver would act out the final misfortune linked to this bleak episode. The following winter he tried unsuccessfully to drown himself in surging Stony Creek. When he next tried by slitting his own throat, he died.⁷³

During the October following the Hong Di lynching, a Chinese butcher was smoking while feeding his horse in a New Chinatown barn when sparks from his pipe ignited the hay. The fire spread through that Chinese occupied area of Chico, levelling thirty-five buildings on both sides of the street. A public campaign sprung up demanding that the white owner not rebuild there for the Oriental community. The anti-Chinese leaders and a committee of Chinese agreed that another Chinatown could go up east of Chico but the Chinese first won assurance that there they would have "the full protection of the law."⁷⁴ This plan fell through and brick buildings filled in the old site in time for the final Chico anti-Chinese campaign, this one in conjunction with the depression of the 1890s.

The exodus by several hundreds of Chinese from Chico took place in the late 1880s and may in significant part have been predicated on the terror the Chinese community experienced. Incidents of murder, lynching and arson reached heights between 1877

and 1888, during the latter years through the events reconstructed here and others. Chinese residents had every reason to conclude that they could not rely for help on even the most powerful and sympathetic men. In addition their economic base in connection with white family services had proved inadequate to build the human commitments necessary to defuse the hostility they commonly endured.

By 1900 census figures suggest a Chinese population of approximately one hundred remained in Chico. Townswomen and some of their descendants came to savor the memory of affordable domestic help by Chinese men who for a generation and more freed them from onerous household drudgery. While women used this gift of time variously, they included in their expanded agenda an array of community services such as library support, public relief, temperance and other projects furnishing enrichment and comfort to Chico residents. By 1988 the descendants remain of only two Chinese from the latter years of this period, Joe Hom, a hotel cook, and his wife, Sun Chee Hom. Despite the reduction in available Chinese services, a few Chico women of means retained their Chinese help—some well into the twen-

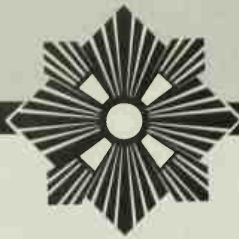
tieth century. Other women fell back on the small number of poor black women, widows and teen-age women from struggling families. Women of moderate means had to simplify their standard of living to take into account their own capacity and the contributions of family members, mostly daughters.

With these changes women's inadvertent role in this issue ended as well, of course. With no formal organization and no publicly articulated position, women had demonstrated that when their interest was clearly at stake they could be effective in undermining the decade-long organized campaign of men. They had done so by providing consistent economic patronage and by privately influencing activist men to qualify the terms of the anti-Chinese campaign to allow for women's domestic service requirements. But the women's capacity failed at the points where they could not command the legal system to protect Chinese from successive outbreaks of terrorism. Short of fending off and countering violence, therefore, in this instance women had informally influenced the political and economic processes despite their exclusion from acknowledged place in both systems. CHS

See notes beginning on page 289.



JOAN & JOHN R. ROBINSON III COLLECTION



WHEN ROYALTY CAME TO CALIFORNIA

John E. Baur

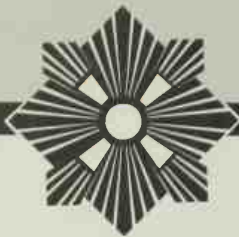
For Americans royalty has always been both fascinating and controversial. Ever since the American Revolution there has been a love-hate relationship between the two. The traditions, the glamor, and the once or present power of royal personages have almost inevitably proved attractive. Like royalty, California from its first instance of world importance has been controversial, colorful, and both greatly praised and highly criticized. As early as the California gold rush people of the purple have come to the golden state, but little has been written about such visits except in the news press: why did they come; what did they do; and did their usually brief sojourns have any effect on them personally

(Top) Alexander Liholiho, who became King Kamehameha IV, paid a visit to California in 1850, accompanied by his brother Lot, and Gerrit P. Judd. This portrait was taken probably in 1861.

(Middle) Prince Lot succeeded to the title of Kamehameha V, "the Bachelor King" and the last of the male line, on the death of his brother, Alexander. Both had visited California in 1850 as young princes. In the fall of 1860, he returned for a second visit, the first reigning monarch to visit the Golden State.

(Bottom) Gerrit P. Judd (1803-1873) was a graduate of the Medical College in Fairfield, New York. He came to the Hawaiian Islands in 1828 as a missionary/physician. In 1842, he served his missionary ties and entered the service of the Royal Hawaiian government as a translator, moving on to become Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Interior, and finally Commissioner to France, Great Britain and the United States. In that capacity he accompanied Princes Alexander and Lot on their 1850 visit.





and the state.

It seems natural that royalty from sea-borne Hawaii would pioneer in the monarchical inspection of the Pacific coast. Through almost the entire nineteenth century Hawaii was an independent kingdom with its own native royal house. The Hawaiian Islands and their Polynesian inhabitants were discovered by Captain James Cook, R.N., in 1778; on his second visit a year following, the Hawaiians killed him. Nevertheless, then and well into the next century Great Britain's influence on the archipelago was paramount. British naval aid helped the king of the Big Island of Hawaii to unite the eight major islands under his dominion until his death in 1819. Kamehameha I (the "Lonely One") established a dynasty which would rule into the 1870s. By the 1820s, however, Yankee sailors, whalers, and missionaries had begun to replace British hegemony with American influence. Soon New England missionaries converted the royal family and most of their subjects. As Yankees established commerce with Spanish, and later, Mexican California, they traded with Hawaii. Eventually California's horses and cattle grazed on the Big Island's ranches. During the reign of Kamehameha III (1824–1854), son of the dynasty's founder, American influence included the introduction of technol-

ogy and educational institutions. One of the most important of the American missionary-settlers, Gerrit P. Judd, helped to produce a constitution for the limited monarchy and served in several positions in the royal cabinet. In 1849 Judd decided to accompany the royal heirs of the reigning king, Prince Alexander, fifteen, and Prince Lot, eighteen, on a tour of the United States and western Europe. The journey of these Polynesian princes took about a year. Because their uncle, the king, was childless, one of these teenage boys would later become Kamehameha IV, and after his death, his older brother would succeed as Kamehameha V. A great contemporary American statesman, U.S. Senator William H. Seward, would soon describe them as "tall, erect, graceful, educated, and in all respects fashioned like princes, except that they had a very swarthy complexion."¹ When the two youths left Honolulu, September 11, 1849, a great demonstration bade them "aloha," for their voyage would be a long and possibly dangerous one. No wonder there was apprehension among Hawaiians that day: they remembered when the twenty-six-year-old King Kamehameha II, son of Hawaii's unifier, had gone with his wife to visit England in 1823–1824, both he and his consort came down with measles in London and died there. Their return to Hawaii had been a funeral procession.² At the time of Alexander's and Lot's departure the king, queen, and prime minister accompanied them to their ship.³

Both princes enjoyed the advantage of sound educations from the missionaries and spoke English

well. California already knew Hawaiians, or "Kanakas" as 49ers called them, for during the past generations many Hawaiian youths, who loved the sea and sailing, had served aboard Yankee ships trading between California and Hawaii, or Hawaii and China, and now that gold had been discovered, many more would join the worldwide race of victims of "gold fever" seeking to dig out a fortune, while in one case at least, they dove for it!

The first part of the royal procession was uneventful as the company followed the sea route from Hawaii to San Francisco, the crossing of Panama to Jamaica, thence to New York. Then they went on to London where they arrived on Christmas Day, 1849. Following a very pleasant visit in England and France, where Judd had a diplomatic mission, they all returned to the United States in early 1850 and visited President Zachary Taylor in the White House. In America, Alexander and Lot would go as far west as Detroit, visit Niagara, look in on Harvard, and climb Bunker Hill. In July they left New York by ship and arrived with their mentor-diplomat, Judd, back in Honolulu on

(Above) A photograph taken by Bradley & Rulofson in San Francisco, October 1866, during Queen Emma's first visit to California (seated second from the left). Others are unidentified but Major Manley Hopkins and Mrs. Edward M. Walsh accompanied the queen. Charles Hitchcock was Hawaiian consul in San Francisco at the time. On this visit, the queen was entertained by him and Major General Henry W. Halleck.

(Below) Queen Emma, widow of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), visited San Francisco a second time in 1887.

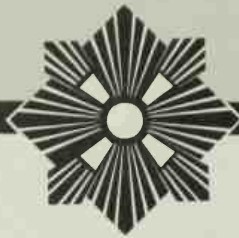
John E. Baur, Professor of History, California State University, Northridge, has authored *Health Seekers in Southern California and Growing Up with California: A History of California's Children*, as well as numerous articles in scholarly journals.

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September 9, 1850. Coincidentally, that day California became a state in the Union.⁴

Although these teenage Hawaiians in the Old World had received the high respect due royalty and were particularly lauded in England, because of their dark skins they were often considered blacks in America, and once had been removed from a railroad in Washington, D.C. Prince Alexander thus complained, "I must be treated like a dog, to go and come at an American's bidding. . . . They talked much of liberty but took many 'liberties' with strangers."⁵ Nevertheless, he had some praise for the country. He wrote:

We have just returned from Washington after having seen the President and members of Congress. We visited the Senate and House of Representatives, heard speeches, were introduced. . . . We . . . wore our uniforms as it is the custom in our country, but no one else wore court dress and so we are singular, and some people stared at us as we do at officers in the navy when they visit the islands. [In Boston] attended the opera, and had to pay twenty dollars for our seats. In Europe we have better music for less money.⁶

As to their brief visit to San Francisco in October, 1849,⁷ Alexander told a friend, "I did not write you from San Francisco as I promised. I know you would not like to hear about sufferings and murder and gamblers, and what else could I write from there?"⁸ So much for the "days of gold."

Alexander's brother, Lot Kamehameha, visited California again in the fall of 1860 for his health, for he had a liver infection. Their uncle, Kamehameha III, had died December 15,

1854, and the younger of the brothers became Kamehameha IV. Lot would stay in California about three weeks and visit the warm springs near San Jose. He was keenly interested in seeing the state's vaunted mineral wealth, which had declined since his initial visit eleven years earlier.⁹ Leaving Hawaii on August 29 with two princes as aides, the royal yacht, the *Emma Rooke*, named for the new queen, stopped briefly at Victoria, B.C., and then proceeded to San Francisco, where it arrived on October 4. Prince Lot stopped at the International Hotel. The press was duly attentive. A *New York Times* correspondent reported on the visiting Hawaiians

. . . are stout fine-looking fellows: I don't believe there are three larger men to be found in San Francisco. All were dressed in the latest English fashion that we are cognizant of, with thick overcoats, patent-leather boots, heavy gold watch guards, and two of them with glistening tiles [hats] while the Prince sported a plaid jockey cap.

The dark complexion of Hawaiian royalty always fascinated reporters. One recorded that Lot's ". . . color is that of light mahogany. He talks English fluently. He denies the story which has gone the rounds, that when he and his brother, the Present King, were visiting the States some years ago, they were ordered away from the first table of a Mississippi steamboat." Correcting this version, Prince Lot insisted that it was on a railroad smoking car.¹⁰

The Prince filled his days with varied activities during his visit. He attended the agricultural fair, of which Californians were justly proud now

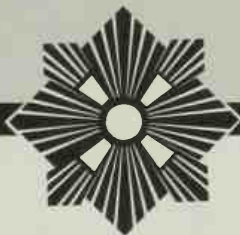
that the state was advancing in farming and animal husbandry, and he especially enjoyed the cattle show. According to the *San Francisco Bulletin*, he had "his hands thrust half way into his pockets and hat set on at an angle of 30 degrees to the perpendicular, as he sauntered among the tables of the hall."¹¹ One witness thought Lot looked like "our own Yankee Prince, John Van Buren," son of the former president and a colorful socialite. Ever open to interviews, the royal guest remarked that he could not recognize anything of the San Francisco of 1849–1850, "save some of the hills," so much had changed as the gold rush camp became a major western American city.¹²

A few days later a journalist observed the Prince:

flattening his nose against a window, looking at some painting in a picture frame shop, and stop at a fruit stand and invest a dime in a big red apple, and offered to stand treat for a supply for his two aides, who did not seem disposed to partake. He wandered about the town, ate, drank, and slept just like an ordinary mortal, in plain clothes. . . .

On October 11, Lot Kamehameha arrived in Sacramento on the popular river steamer *Queen City* with his aides, including the young David Kalakaua, another future Hawaiian king. They were graciously received by local officials, and then sampled wines at Smith's gardens. Shortly after they went to Folsom by California's pioneer Sacramento Valley Railroad.¹³

Before the busy prince left California he called on John G. Downey, California's seventh governor, who had been inaugurated that year; vis-



ited Crystal Cave; watched over gold miners at work, and toured several agricultural valleys.¹⁴

As most of Hawaii's sovereigns would, Kamehameha IV died young, at the age of twenty-nine, on November 30, 1863. Lot became Kamehameha V. He followed his late brother's aversion to the political influence exerted on his kingdom by the America missionaries; he feared that the end result would be annexation to the United States. To forestall that advent, the constitution of 1864 strengthened once more the regal powers, unlike the basic law of 1840 which the missionaries had produced. But, American trade and commerce continued to expand in Hawaii despite the new organic law.

Queen Emma, the widow of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) was a popular figure in Hawaii both during her husband's and brother-in-law's reigns. Her young son, heir to the throne, had died.¹⁵ Beautiful, highly intelligent, and pro-British in her political views, she would be considered a candidate for the throne when Kamehameha V died without issue. In 1866 she sailed on a world tour. After seeing Europe, where she was well received by royalty, she visited Washington, D.C. Due to the backlash of the two princes' ill-starred visit there in 1850, she enjoyed a regal reception. On August 14, Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, attended her welcome, and his diary tells us that "she is a good-looking, well-developed woman of about thirty, with a complexion a shade darker perhaps than a brun-

ette, a full, round eye, a good form, of graceful deportment." Four days later, Welles attended a White House dinner for her, which President Andrew Johnson and most of the cabinet members and their wives attended.¹⁶ Seward found former Queen Emma "intelligent, well educated, and especially well-informed, and withal, seems unaffected and amiable." That day she visited Mount Vernon and a freedman's village of former slaves.¹⁷ Emma also saw the disappointing stump of what would later (in 1885) become the inspiring Washington Monument, as well as the federal Treasury and State Departments.¹⁸

On September 24, 1866, the touring queen arrived by ship at San Francisco and received a twenty-one-gun salute from Fort Point, recently armed against Confederate threats to the city, but that city had made no elaborate preparations for her as had the nation's capital. Yet, as about a thousand curious people stood at the wharf where she landed, a local observer commented:

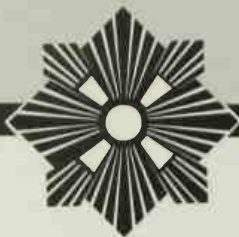
*Her Majesty was lifted into a livery carriage and driven to the Occidental. Queen Emma loses not a jot of her worth or dignity by riding in a hack. Yet, after all, it is a sad commentary on the prosaicism of the age. We might have taken a little trouble and vested the arrival of the queen with some of the poetry and appurtenances of royalty without endangering our Republican simplicity. There has been so much talk of toadyism, and we have so often been charged with an excessive hankering after royalty that in this instance we have forgotten our civility.*¹⁹

Talk about toadyism had appeared when Americans in eastern cities had

been nearly transfixed by the 1860 visit of Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII.

Queen Emma's fellow passengers on the ship which brought her to the Bay city had gotten to like this "first Queen ever in California." They duly noted that she was "modest and unassuming, thus truly gracing a rank she appears well entitled to."²⁰

During her sojourn, Queen Emma visited several prominent San Francisco educational institutions, the Lincoln, the Denman, and the Industrial and Rincon schools. At one of these a gentleman became so flustered before royalty that he introduced her as Queen Victoria, "causing a hearty laugh among the scholars, which was echoed by Queen Emma herself."²¹ Because she was still in mourning for her husband, Emma did not visit theaters or other amusements. There was one exception. When the later famous theatrical producer David Belasco was a twelve-year-old student of the famous Lincoln School, he and his fellow pupils met with the visiting queen. They entertained her, despite her mourning, and she enjoyed their skits. Belasco performed his selection, "The Madman." One other boy, E.F. Lennon, could recall fifty years later, in 1916, that some of these boys dared to kiss the regal lady, and "it was the talk of the school for some time. She took the kisses all right, and we got a lecture for our audacity, and perhaps a licking."²²



When Hawaii's royalty was pagan, they were also polygamous, and so it seems ironic that neither Kamehameha III, IV, nor V produced a living heir to inherit the throne. On Kamehameha's death in 1872, that rarest of royal events, a popular election for a new monarch and dynasty occurred. William Lunalilo, known as "the People's King," aged thirty-seven, won, but he was ill even then and died of tuberculosis on February 3, 1874.

Once again a royal election occurred, and David Kalakaua, a native aristocrat, was elected. His was to be the last royal family of Hawaii. Although Kalakaua has been remembered as Hawaii's "Merry Monarch," for he certainly enjoyed an uninhibited life, he was not merely a playboy. Already he had achieved the fame and status of a prominent native journalist and folklorist who wanted "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" rather than for the mere exploitation of foreign, or *haole*, settlers. As the last king of Hawaii he would be the first monarch in history ever to circumnavigate the globe, would build for himself the present Iolani Palace, and enjoy a first-rate coronation and the issuance of stamps and coins depicting his distinctive head.

Shortly after his assumption to the royal title, David Kalakaua decided to visit the United States. An American man-of-war, the *Benicia*, delivered the king to San Francisco at 10:30 p.m., November 28, 1874. To a San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter he was: "A stout, portly gentleman, dressed in a blue coat with gold buttons, a pair of slippers on his feet,

[he] leaned back in his chair smoking a cigar and looking the picture of comfort. His vest was thrown open and he had resented the confinement of a collar." Continuing, he noticed that Kalakaua "has the easy self-possession of a man of the world. . . . His complexion is dark, and his side-whiskers and hair are black and curly."²³ This time the flags of many ships fluttered in the harbor while the king "seemed the most indifferent of the assembled thousands."²⁴ Especially excited were San Francisco's small boys, some of whom had clambered into various ships' rigging "and clustered like flies on the spars and masts."²⁵ Market Street in front of the Grand Hotel was packed, while nearby the half-finished Palace Hotel, to become a wonder of the West, was ornamented with about two thousand people occupying its bay windows.

Kalakaua liked newspapermen, and no wonder—he told them that he had spent ten years as a journalist. Since Queen Kapiolani, his wife, had not accompanied him, the king was action itself, visiting the famous tourist attraction, the Cliff House, and the federal military prison on Alcatraz. Something of his bon vivant nature was revealed when he played with zest and experience at billiards in the California Club.²⁶ In December, Kalakaua traveled by trans-continental railroad to the east, where he saw snow for the first time, caught a very bad cold, and visited leading politicians in Washington. One of the king's reasons for coming to America was to discuss the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, by which America would guarantee the purchase of

Hawaii's sugar and in return Hawaii would permanently lease Pearl Harbor. The treaty was effected in 1876.

Returning to the islands, David Kalakaua left San Francisco a second time on January 27, 1875, aboard the U.S.S. *Pensacola*. Bradley A. Fiske, later a U.S. Navy rear admiral, and at that time a young officer, remembered having Kalakaua aboard as a guest of the government, who was "liberally supplied with cigars and wine." After a champagne birthday party for His Majesty, the king could not be found. Fiske noted that the crew finally located him asleep in the admiral's office.²⁷

Wishing to visit the great powers of the modern world and learn from the lengthy voyage how his small island nation could become up-to-date, respected, and able to survive, Kalakaua decided in 1880 to circumnavigate the world. William N. Armstrong, Hawaii-born of American parents, who had been educated in the United States, and in 1880 the king's attorney general, accompanied him. Kalakaua's sister Liliuoka-

(Top) King Kalakaua and his suite, formally called the Reciprocity Commission, taken in 1874 in San Francisco by Bradley & Rulofson. Seated (left to right): John Dominis, King Kalakaua, J.M. Kapena; standing (left to right): Luther Severance and Henry A. Pierce.

(Middle) David Kalakaua was elected to the Hawaiian throne in 1874, succeeding Lunalilo (William Kanaina) who served a little over a year, being elected on January 8, 1873 and dying on February 3, 1874.

(Bottom) One of the last of the great *alii* (royal family), Queen Kapiolana wife of King Kalakaua, whom she married in 1863, was the granddaughter of King Kaumuali'i of Kauai. She first visited California in 1887.

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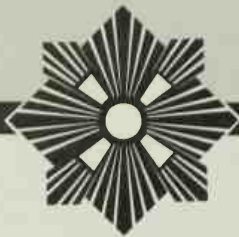


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lani (Mrs. Lydia Dominis) wife of an Italian-American, served as regent during the monarch's long absence. Altogether a party of four attended the king.²⁸ The epic voyage began in February 1881 and was completed in November 1882.

As was usual in other but more limited royal Hawaiian travels, the king went first to San Francisco, where he stayed at the elegant Palace Hotel, visited the state legislature in session at Sacramento, and was flattered by Governor George C. Perkins who called him a potential "Colossus of the Pacific." Armstrong noted that his master had a very retentive memory on religion, science, and politics, and was a fine musician. The king had named Armstrong Minister of State and Royal Commissioner of Education for the duration of the voyage; one of his specific charges was to seek recruits to solve Hawaii's labor shortage in the booming sugar industry.²⁹

As a great party-giver and party-goer, Kalakaua had generously entertained many of San Francisco's wealthiest and most influential citizens in past years, and so he was enthusiastically greeted by them. In Chinatown the consul general of China gave the king a costly banquet at the Hang Fen Lou Restaurant, said at the time to be the costliest Chinese dinner ever held in the United States. Guests dined on bird's nest soup, white snow fingers, imperial fish brains, preserved eggs, shark fins, bamboo shoots, duck, turtle stew, melon and pear wine.³⁰

On February 8, 1881, the king sailed westward from San Francisco for Japan. During his year-plus tour, Kalakaua visited Yokohama, Shang-

hai, Hongkong, Bangkok, Calcutta; sailed through the new Suez Canal; stopped at Cairo, Rome, Paris, Brussels, Madrid, Lisbon, London and Windsor Castle. In these peregrinations Asian and European royalty lavishly entertained him. He met President Chester A. Arthur only a few weeks after he had succeeded the assassinated James A. Garfield. Both Kalakaua and Arthur had similar physical structures and weight, and both wore the then very popular large mustaches and full mutton chop whiskers. Returning westward across the continent, Kalakaua visited horse farms in Kentucky and purchased some excellent animals to take home.³¹

Upon arriving again in San Francisco, and thereby completing his circle around the world, the king enjoyed hospitality from Senator James G. Fair of Nevada, the silver king, and his old friend and fellow card player, Claus Spreckels, the California and Hawaiian sugar king.³² Probably he missed the heady glamor of the European courts, and according to the shrewd analysis of his friend and courtier, Armstrong:

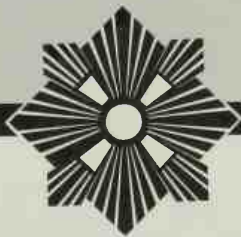
*He attracted respectful attention of the United States, but he did see, though dimly, that he only amused the American populace and excited their curiosity. One of the papers stated that "while he was a good fellow, his throne was only a relic of barbarism," and others likened his court to the royal families in opéra bouffe.*³³

At the end of the tour, when Armstrong asked His Majesty what he had learned from his extensive travels, he replied with wit and wisdom, that his subjects were already

better off than the majority of people he had seen; they had enough to eat and wear, were happy, never in debt because no outsiders trusted them. They were not dyspeptic with worry, which was common in America. Then he asked Armstrong about his people, "What good do you think Europeans and Americans have done them?"³⁴

Soon after his return to Hawaii, Kalakaua's sunny days began to dim. Landowners and would-be politicians, many descended from American missionaries, complained of the corruption rife in his government. Many believed that a progressive Hawaii would be better off under American annexation, while the king sponsored government aid to his own native people. In 1887 a short rebellion occurred, and Kalakaua had to accept a more restrictive constitution and virtual dictation by the *haoles*. To Hawaiians this was the "Bayonet Revolution." Ill health plagued the now nearly figurehead king, and he became despondent.

For years since the gold rush, California had been known as a health resort, particularly in its southern regions, while San Francisco had developed a noted medical profession. In December 1890, Kalakaua visited California for the last time. His headquarters on this rest tour was again the Palace Hotel. Since it was a cold winter, he decided to visit southern California for the last time. The king arrived in San Diego on December 28 in a Central Pacific parlor car, and enjoyed the new Hotel del Coronado as one of its first of many famous guests. He called it "the grandest hotel I ever saw," and that meant a lot. He found the harbor and the palms



fit for Hawaii. Royalty-watchers noticed that he had shaved off his once bushy side whiskers, but still had an impressive mustache.³⁵

Perhaps the awed San Diegans he met were typified by one lady who exclaimed:

*Ah! King. I had framed something to say to Your Majesty, but now that I am in the presence of royalty my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth. "Never mind what you intended to say, my dear lady," replied the king. "Say anything. Be as democratic as you can, for if I was to come to live in America I would vote the Democratic ticket myself."*³⁶

Although he put her at ease, Kalakaua used a different strategem when he dealt with one San Diego *Sun* correspondent: "I must add that I particularly admire the enterprise of your newspaper correspondents. They figure out one's remotest ideas and express them regardless of consequences. Yes, your newspaper writers are great mind readers." The reporter noted that the king smiled pleasantly as he said this, but it was obvious that Kalakaua was voicing good-natured sarcasm.³⁷

On January 2, he was at San Bernardino, but his train allowed him to stay only forty-five minutes. Kalakaua had just come from Riverside where he had attended the Loring Opera House's performance and enthusiastic townspeople called him "a drawing card for theatrical managers."³⁸

During his short visit to Los Angeles, the king enjoyed a reception at the city hall of the little city of 50,000, followed by a banquet at the California Club. A pioneer, Colonel James J. Ayers, printer, writer,

and former resident of Hawaii, began his greeting with "Aloha ke moi," welcome to the king. Kalakaua replied in fine English.³⁹

When the king was aboard the observation platform of his Pullman, a Los Angeles woman, echoing the amazed crowd, gasped with astonishment, shouting, "Mayor [Henry] Hazard, Mayor Hazard, is that the king?" The Angeleno gathering roared with laughter, as did His Majesty. She believed that in ordinary street clothes the monarch was a disappointment. But, said a reporter, she would have been delighted "had Kalakaua danced out of his car in a headdress and a skirt of feathers and shaken his spear toward the four corners of the world and retired with a resonant and direful whoop."⁴⁰

At Santa Barbara one of the king's Hawaiian attendants created a stir in the quiet upper class community when he rode his horse into the sumptuous Arlington Hotel's bar while searching for His Majesty.⁴¹ It was also reported that while he was there, Kalakaua lost heavily at his favorite game, poker.⁴²

This may have been one of his last card games, for, still sick, the king returned to the Palace Hotel where he died on January 20, 1891. An American president, too, would die in that famous hotel. Warren G. Harding expired there on August 2, 1923.

King Kalakaua's successor and one-time regent was his sister, Liliuokalani, who was as dedicated as he to the study of Hawaiian folklore and music. She wrote the perennially beloved "Aloha Oe" while still a prin-

cess. Like her brother, she had been a health seeker to California on advice of her physician. Her husband, John Dominis, accompanied her and met his old friend and former playmate, Governor Romualdo Pacheco, who had been sent by his wealthy California ranching family in the era when Mexico owned California, to Hawaii to be educated, as were many Hawaiian aristocrats, at the Young Chiefs' School, conducted by Yankees. One of Liliuokalani's visitors at Sacramento was H.S. Crocker; his presence encouraged her to tour in its early days the Crocker Art Gallery, the oldest such institute in California.⁴³

Once again, in 1887, she visited California with her husband and Queen Kapiolani, her brother David's wife. This was Kapiolani's first visit to America. She crossed it by rail, and with the other royals in May visited the White House and President Grover Cleveland and his beautiful young bride.

Upon her ascension to the throne of her late brother in 1891, Liliuokalani courageously forwarded her policy to restore a share of power to the native Polynesian Hawaiians and expended considerable revenue on their behalf. She also planned a new constitution for 1893 to replace the Bayonet Constitution of six years earlier and restore royal prerogatives. By that time the Annexation Club of white Hawaiians had decided to seek United States annexation. Outgoing President Benjamin Harrison seemed to approve of this. Thus, when a revolt against the queen occurred on January 17, 1893, an American naval party landed under the instance of the United States Minister, John L.



Stevens, preventing royal forces from suppressing the uprising. A few weeks later, incoming President Grover Cleveland opposed annexation because of the unethical American movements that had been made, but he was unable to restore the queen. Meanwhile, the rebels had proclaimed a republic and waited for a new United States administration to favor them. The next president, William McKinley, with Congressional support, annexed Hawaii formally on July 4, 1898. During these trying years the ex-queen struggled to regain her throne and several times visited the United States on her vain quest. Even after the new century began she was still trying to get a pension from the American government for losing her throne and royal revenues.

As she arrived from the east in March 1903, a San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter interviewed her. He ungallantly noted, "Liliuokalani has aged greatly in years and appearance since she first became a familiar figure at the national capital, but she insisted last evening that she was still in excellent health."⁴⁴ When she was again in San Francisco in November 1908, hardly anyone paid attention to her. There was no twenty-one-gun salute and no banquets for this "frail old woman," who remained in her stateroom until most passengers had left the ship. Few of her fellow travelers even recognized her.⁴⁵

There was also a glamorous young advocate for Hawaiian monarchism who visited California, the eighteen-year-old beautiful Princess Kaiulani, niece of Queen "Lil." She had been educated in England, and in 1897, just before annexation, she lent her charm and efforts to her aunt's

cause. In San Francisco's Occidental Hotel, Kaiulani welcomed an interviewer on October 31 who recorded that

This royal Hawaiian girl needs not the exaggeration of newspaper gallantry. Of all her portraits there is none that does justice to her expressive, small, proud face. She is exquisitely slender and graceful, quite tall and holds herself like a—like a princess and like a Hawaiian. Her clothes said Paris, her accent said London. Her figure said New York. Her heart said Hawaii.

She told her questioner, Miriam Michelson, that she had left Hawaii over eight years before, and recalled the beauty of its waterfalls and mountains.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Her Royal Highness died soon thereafter, as Hawaiian royalty faded into history. California had seen much of Hawaii's royalty from 1849 to the end of the dynasty.

During the gold rush, future kings Kamehameha IV and V were not the only royal personages that California welcomed. In May 1850, Prince Paul of Württemberg arrived in San Diego by ship from Mazatlán. Friedrich Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, had been born in Silesia in 1797, second son of King Friedrich's brother. His royal uncle endeavored to educate Paul, and his efforts were highly successful. The brilliant boy specialized in botany, zoology, and other natural sciences. Although never more than two heartbeats from the throne of his small southwestern German kingdom, the adult Paul was frequently overseas. In 1823 he went up the Missouri as far

as South Dakota, and next year met the Indian woman Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son, Jean Baptiste, then eighteen, all of whom had traveled from North Dakota with Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to Oregon in 1805. In 1824 Paul took Jean Baptiste Charbonneau to Europe where he, too, received a solid classical education, becoming fluent in English, German, and Spanish. The youth already knew French from his Canadian father.⁴⁷ In 1829 twenty-three-year-old Jean Baptiste returned to the American West with Prince Paul. This second American visit took the German royal to the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming. Later the prince's vast collection of specimens was stored in Bremen, and for his scientific discoveries the University of Tübingen awarded him both the Ph.D. and the M.D. degrees.⁴⁸

Third and last of his western American voyages occurred during the California gold rush. In 1849 he went to Texas, crossed into Mexico, and by the spring of 1850, sailed for California. On the southern coast he briefly visited San Pedro and Los Angeles.⁴⁹ Traveling by ox cart he enjoyed the pueblo's wines which had

(Top) King Kalakaua, third from right, sailed for San Francisco on the USS *Charleston* in December 1890 for his third and last trip to California.

(Middle) The last known photograph of King Kalakaua taken in San Francisco in January 1891. He died at the Palace Hotel on January 20. Known as "the merry monarch," his death was attributed to Bright's disease.

(Bottom) Colonel James J. Ayers, who knew King Kalakaua from his Hawaiian sojourn, welcomed the sovereign at a civic reception on his 1890 visit to Los Angeles.

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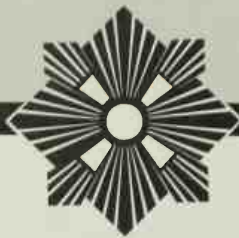


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been praised by other travelers over several years.

The Prince of Württemberg arrived at San Francisco June 22, 1850; he stayed ten days in the burgeoning city. The Babel that was San Francisco's newly arrived conglomeration of races, nationalities, religions, and languages apparently fascinated him more than they had the Hawaiian princes, but he was somewhat shocked by the gambling houses, which seems strange for so sophisticated a veteran traveler. Like many visitors and settlers of those initial days of the great city-to-be, he steamed up the Sacramento River to visit Sacramento on July 2, 1850.⁵⁰

It was a typical frontier Independence Day that Prince Paul witnessed on July 4 at Sacramento. A picnic with heavy drinking, firing of a holiday cannon, patriotic oratory by a young politician, all impressed him, as did meeting the prominent politicians, probably as eager to see a real prince as he was to study them. Among these were the new state's first governor and lieutenant governor, and brand-new U.S. Senator William M. Gwin, not yet seated in the national capital, which would recognize California as the 31st state on September 9. The regal Württemberger noted that there were not many pretty women residents, although with little effort he was able to discover several.⁵¹ There was much drunkenness present, but also more sober patriots, and to mark the day, several American flags stretched by wire from housetop to housetop in the emerging town.⁵²

The Prince visited the dean of pioneers thereabouts, John Augustus Sutter, a German-speaking Swiss adventurer who had pioneered the

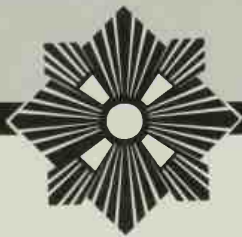
valley at his huge ranch at Fort Helvetia in 1839. At Sacramento, too, Paul encountered another German immigrant, Theodor Cordua, from Mecklenberg, who had settled Marysville shortly after Sutter erected his Sacramento fort. In his memoirs the early Californian recalled that the prince was "tall and corpulent" and "very simple without the slightest conceit and extremely interested in conversation." Paul had left his aides and escorts down in Mexico, and according to Cordua, who had experienced first hand roughing it in California, "knew how to put up with everything. . . . I was pleased to note also that he would acknowledge the cordial greeting of a blunt American with a hearty handshake."⁵³ This attitude seemed odd to many Americans who may have known that Prince Paul was a nephew of Czar Paul I of Russia and a friend of Paul's sons, the later Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I, and whose cousin Wilhelm had become King of Württemberg in 1816. Yet, Paul had no desire to become a king and only wanted to travel, study and draw, for he was a good sketcher of scenes and illustrator of his specimens.⁵⁴

After leaving Sacramento, Paul encountered peaceful and naked California Indians near Yuba City, and at Sutter's Hock Farm he saw other Native Americans threshing grain while his interest in arts stimulated his enthusiasm for the Indian women's watertight baskets. He sympathized, too, on learning that miners had recently robbed, beat, raped, and killed some of them. Paul became friends with Sutter, particularly after he used his medical skills to help when malaria broke out, em-

ploying quinine, ether, and camphor to treat patients. On his leaving, Sutter and his family kissed and bade farewell to the prince as his coach departed.⁵⁵

Another better remembered titled European, also interested in scholarly travel, arrived in Los Angeles in 1876. This was Ludwig Louis Salvator, Archduke of Austria and son of Leopold II, last Grand Duke of Tuscany. Born in Florence in 1847, as a youth he shared Prince Paul's zest for travel and science. Like the Württemberger, he rejected court pomp and is said to have mastered a dozen languages. Also like Paul, he wrote extensively, some thirty-five books in all, which reveal his interest in scholarly detail.⁵⁶ The archduke was much impressed with the beauty, agriculture, and natural sciences in Los Angeles. He also garnered data on the social life of the pre-Boom population of the 1880s, which was published in translation as *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies: A Flower from the Golden Land* in 1929.

Many Californians will recall the number of royal personages who visited the United States during the Independence Bicentennial in 1976, several of whom toured California. A century before, an America recovering from the bitter Civil War, "winning the West," and becoming industrialized clearly loved to boast of its century of growth since 1776. The impressive Philadelphia world's fair in the summer of 1876 drew many enthusiastic Americans and enlightened foreigners. Probably the best remembered and feted of foreign tourists was the Emperor of Brazil,



Dom Pedro II, the first reigning monarch of an important nation to visit the United States.

The long series of events which led to his becoming emperor began when Napoleonic troops invaded Portugal in 1807, and the royal house of Braganza fled to its most important colony, Brazil, where the family remained until King João VI returned to Lisbon in 1821, leaving behind his son, Pedro, father of Pedro II, as royal representative in the "kingdom" of Brazil. Next year, on September 7, 1822, as Spanish colonies were proclaiming their independence of Madrid, the young prince at Ypiranga uttered Brazil's own cry of independence from Portugal, and led the restive Brazilians in their swift achievement of freedom. As Emperor Pedro I, however, he soon disappointed his Brazilian subjects and in 1831 was forced to abdicate in favor of his five-year-old son, Pedro II.

By 1876, Pedro II had reached fifty, had proven himself a model monarch, as well as being the last crowned head in the Western Hemisphere. High in intellect, wholesome in ethics, and dedicated to his native land, Pedro amazed Brazilians and foreigners alike by his endless interest in learning—literature, government, science, technology, and humanitarian reforms—though Brazil would remain a slave nation until emancipation in 1888. The emperor and his wife, Empress Thereza, had already traveled widely through Europe, partly to master skills and learn of technology that would help their South American country. This, however, was their first visit to the United States. Pedro's purposes were multiple. He and his consort hoped to find health in North America, at-

tend the well-publicized exposition, and get to know Americans and study their successes in political, economic, and social spheres. As a learned man, Dom Pedro wanted to visit the literary figures of cultural New England whose works he knew and occasionally translated into Portuguese.⁵⁷

The imperial pair entered the port of New York on April 15, 1876. In the east he visited museums, art galleries, schools, astronomical observatories, hospitals, the world's fair opening with President Ulysses S. Grant, and all the time amazed Americans of all classes and professions by his great factual knowledge of their specialties, as well as his tireless energy, long hours, and simple, democratic ways. The monarch usually dressed simply, as other royalty visiting America usually had and would, and thereby disappointed many with his lack of outward glitter, though it was more than made up for by his inner brilliance.

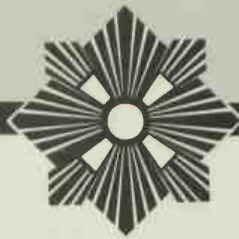
Many Americans, including Californians, expected to see a Brazilian emperor who looked like an Indian. The San Jose *Mercury* before he arrived referred to him as a "dusky ruler" while the *Enterprise* ignorantly spoke of him as "swarthy." Eventually Californians would note his "light-colored whiskers, resembling more in his general appearance a good-natured German grocer than a scion of Iberian royalty." Indeed, through generations the Portuguese Braganzas, like most European ruling houses, had intermarried with German and other northern European reigning families.⁵⁸ As early as 1849, Pedro II, then a young husband and new father, had met at Rio de Janeiro, or at least had seen, many a 49er en route or returning from the

California diggings. Some had been on their best behavior, but others were noted for rowdiness in their rare opportunity to land at Rio, relax, and have a "good" time, which landed many in jail.⁵⁹

On April 18, 1876, Dom Pedro left by transcontinental railroad for California, traveling via the New York Central to Chicago; the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul to Omaha, and then west to the Pacific on the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines. He especially enjoyed seeing the gradually diminishing herds of bison and ever-fascinating Indians. All royalty seem to have become excited seeing and meeting Native Americans.

At that great hill of silver which made Nevada—Virginia City—the *Territorial Enterprise*, which fifteen years before had given Mark Twain his journalistic chance, spoke with typical 1870s American boasting and not a little patronizing when it referred to Pedro as he approached town:

*We must not judge the Emperor by ourselves. He was born to the purple, and had to unlearn after he became a man that there was, after all, no real divinity in hereditary royalty. . . . It is said he is a wise and thoughtful man. If this is true, he has plenty to occupy his mind. He knows it is now 335 years since [Francisco] Orellana sailed down the Amazon to the sea and that still Brazil is in many respects barbarous. He knows it is but thirty years since the blow was struck which gave this coast, then a wilderness, to the United States, and he will not fail to mark the tremendous change which has been wrought here. . . . Let him come, take a respectful look and carry the lesson away with him.*⁶⁰



Unfortunately because of an accident on the railroad line and the resulting delay, the emperor missed seeing Virginia City.

Yet, Dom Pedro was deeply interested in everything he saw. He toured railroad shops in Sacramento where the "Pacific Railroad" had begun in the 1860s, stayed at the vaunted Palace Hotel, so inconspicuously that few knew he was there, and daily rose at five o'clock to tour the Bay City for three wonderful days. He was in his element at the University of California at Berkeley, went by ferry to Oakland, conversed with all sorts of people, from a crippled candy vendor—in Spanish—to San Francisco's unforgettable favorite mascot and madman, "Emperor" Joshua Norton, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of the United States and designed his own dress uniform. Pedro, the emperor, was quietly informed that Norton, "the emperor," was always treated like royalty thereabouts, and so he, too, met him with dignity. As we have seen, every tourist of the era visited Cliff House and Chinatown. At the former Pedro for the first time glimpsed the Pacific Ocean. At Emanu-El Synagogue he impressed Rabbi Elkan Cohn when he read from Hebrew scrolls and discussed Jewish theology.⁶¹

California's first great historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose multi-volume histories of the Pacific Slope were mostly ghost-written by others but financed by Bancroft, already had a library of great renown, and it is no wonder that the royal bookworm visited him, too. As Bancroft put it, "pouring out his soul for his beloved Brazil."⁶² Pedro struck the historian-bookseller as "much interested in the work, and promised me every assis-

tance in his power."⁶³ Indeed, the emperor was known to lavish aid, advice, and hospitality on any visiting American intellectual in Brazil.

The autograph craze which seems as vibrant and growing today as it was in 1876, had already become a fervent American hobby. Apparently because of his limited time, there is no evidence that the great Brazilian gave his signature to a collector in San Francisco more than once. The lucky zealot was a lady with "indomitable pluck and policy" who went to the Palace Hotel to greet the emperor when he returned from a round of the city's theaters the day before his departure. She entered the elevator with Pedro and left it on his floor. Then she asked his secretary, who told her that her humble request must be in writing. Not deterred, she wrote, "Will the Emperor of Brazil have the kindness to give his autograph to an American lady—one who admires the quiet dignity of a great monarch in our dear Republic?" The secretary disappeared with her note, and immediately Dom Pedro appeared. Without ceremony he sat down and wrote, "Dom Pedro de Alcántara," handed it to her, bowed graciously and withdrew.⁶⁴

By the 1880s southern California, which had lagged behind the north since gold and statehood had appeared, was awaking through the publicity of railroad building, expanding agriculture, fame of its beauty and salubrity, and a zestful and colorful literature. It is no wonder that even British royalty would be curious about the "American Riviera," as enthusiastic boosters were dubbing it.

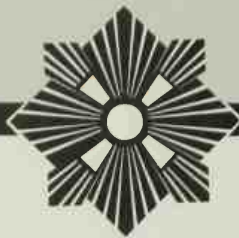
That reputation lured a member of the British royal family.

Born in 1848, Princess Louise was the fourth daughter of Queen Victoria. She was notable as the only one of the queen's nine children who did not marry foreign royalty, and also was declared to be both talented and beautiful. In October 1870, she became engaged to Sir John Sutherland Campbell, Marquis of Lorne, afterwards ninth Duke of Argyll. Victoria and Prince Albert had visited Lorne's ancestral country seat at Inverary Castle, Scotland, when Lorne was only two in 1847. Louise and Lorne both were literary, artistic, loved sports, and liked walking in the mountains of Scotland, as they would later do in Canada and California. Lorne was a Gladstonian Liberal, which did not please Louise's brother, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, who preferred a foreign prince for her, and nonengagement in British politics, but Queen Victoria approved of this love match. The pair was married on March 21, 1871, but during their long married life they never became parents.

(Above) Princess Lydia Pahi is best remembered as Queen Liliuokalani, Hawaii's last royal monarch. A gifted musician and composer, she reigned from 1891 to 1893, when her government was overthrown by the republican movement led by Stanford Dole. She paid three visits to California: 1887, 1903, and 1908. This portrait was taken in 1887.

(Below) The lovely Princess Victoria Kaiulani was the daughter of Princess Likelike, an ali'i, and an American father, Archibald S. Cleghorn. Educated in Great Britain, she was both bright and beautiful. She was an ardent champion of the royal Hawaiian family and government, a position made abundantly clear on this 1897 visit to San Francisco.





When Benjamin Disraeli was prime minister in 1878, he decided that the Marquis of Lorne should become Governor General of Canada, an exalted position he would hold for three years. While Louise enjoyed sketching in Canada and toured its wild west, she disliked the severe Canadian winters.⁶⁵

During their overseas service, Lorne became a popular governor general, and he continued to write prose and poetry on Canadian themes. Meanwhile, Lake Louise in Alberta, near Kicking Horse Pass in the Rockies, was named for his wife. It would soon develop into a tourist resort, thanks to the plans of the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁶⁶

Princess Louise extended her talents in drawing, painting, and sculpture when she executed a bust of her mother, the queen, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1870.⁶⁷ In 1893 Victoria returned to her birthplace, Kensington Palace, to unveil a statue of herself, crowned and robed in coronation dress, sculpted in Carrara marble by Princess Louise. Her son-in-law, the Marquis of Lorne, wrote a biography of the queen, published in the year of her death, 1901.⁶⁸

In the winter of 1882–1883, Louise happily escaped the Canadian winter that she so disliked through a tour with her husband on the Pacific coast. She and Lorne visited San Francisco that fall.⁶⁹ He addressed Canadians in the Bay City, and the royal couple toured Chinatown and there briefly watched a Chinese play. Since these dramatizations often lasted several days, the mere half hour they tarried probably gave neither much understanding of the drama. They also dined in Chinatown and visited the Temple of Young Wo.⁷⁰

In mid-December the Lornes were in Monterey. Interestingly, they refused a carriage and walked the four blocks from the railroad station to the fashionable Hotel del Monte while a hotelman preceded them with a lantern to light the way. This was indeed a jolly party, and Princess Louise's voice could be heard throughout the lobby. An observer noted that:

Seeing the piano upon entering the parlors, she rushed to it without the queenly reserve generally expected in the movements of members of the royal family, and with her own hands opened the instrument. Calling Miss McNeill to her, the two ladies sat down in front of the keyboard and played three figures of the quadrille. The time was soon changed to a lively polka, and as the other members of the party could not be enthused into a dance . . . her Royal Highness and Miss McNeill essayed to sing the Miserere from "Il Trovatore," but with indifferent success. The Princess is possessed of what might be termed a fair mezzo-soprano voice, but in the song it did not show to particularly good advantage.

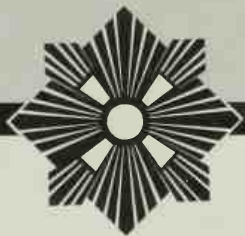
Of course, she carried with her painting and sketching materials to pursue her hobby at this historic California resort town.⁷¹ One wonders if Lorne recalled that his fellow Scot and fellow author, Robert Louis Stevenson, had spent a literarily productive but far humbler winter at that former capital of California three years earlier.

More than two hundred miles to the south, the royal visitors would leave at Santa Barbara a much more powerful and memorable impression. By 1882 Santa Barbara was rapidly changing from a sleepy mission town noted for its fine climate and

Mexican cattle ranches to a modern American tourist area catering to America's elite. Its beautiful natural surroundings were being enhanced as well-to-do health seekers and settlers erected fine showplaces along the coast and southward. Proud of their developing reputation, Santa Barbarans boasted of the cultural achievement of their community, the large number of college graduates, and successful New Englanders. Their small town and its suburbs then had almost 10,000 people.⁷² A few years earlier a visitor had said of its century-old mission, it "forms the most conspicuous object to the eye when the town first comes into view, and it excites greater curiosity than anything else in the place."⁷³ One sentimental tourist, Mrs. E. W. Tabor, saw that its "soft green hills stoop low for kisses from the placid waters of the bay." She enjoyed the contrast between the "quiet old adobe houses with their curious tile roofs" of the Mexican folk and "modern elegance" provided by the Yankee newcomers. Perhaps Princess Louise also observed, as Mrs. Tabor had, that the "sunset light is a fit subject for an artist."⁷⁴

Edward Payson Roe, an eastern author who sojourned there described wintertime in this wise:

The air was fragrant from blooming flowers, finches and Audubon's warblers were full of song in the pepper trees, while humming birds were almost as plentiful as bumble-bees in June [and in January it was warm till the sun went down] Nature did not absolutely stop and rest, but she went slow over the cold divide of the years. . . . The visage of nature had an odd and peculiar aspect. It was



*as if the face of an old friend had assumed an expression never seen before.*⁷⁵

Paramount among the beautiful little city's boosters was Colonel William H. Hollister. A San Francisco humorist, Derrick Dodd, said of Hollister, "If a mortgage is to be lifted, a business started, a failure to be avoided, and a charity to be promoted, Colonel Hollister is consulted, as a matter of course. From starting a bank to planting a rose garden, the people here turn to him with a confidence and faith born of long usage."⁷⁶ It was Hollister who had built the Arlington Hotel in 1875, with its ninety rooms, and it had put the town on the map as a famous resort.

Late in 1882, Santa Barbara learned that Louise and Lorne would visit there in December, and that it would not be an official visit, therefore a formal reception would not be appropriate. Nevertheless, *any* visit by royalty to a southern California town would be exceedingly special. As mayor of Santa Barbara, Charles Fernald wrote the British vice consul in San Francisco to extend the "most cordial welcome."⁷⁷ The coming of Princess Louise would be talked about as the most interesting event since the Mexican War. Well over seventy years later, Thomas M. Storke, a twentieth-century California editor of note, remembered his boyish thrill at age six in seeing the princess when she visited Mission Santa Barbara.⁷⁸ On Christmas Eve, 1882, the regal couple arrived aboard the *Orizaba* at Stearns' Wharf. The Arlington's manager had fitted out a suite for them in scarlet and gold. Louise entered the hostelry on the arm of Colonel Hollister.⁷⁹

Now the British princess had the

kind of rest she wanted, far from winter's blasts, and she enjoyed the bridle paths of the county as she rode in her elegant habit with a plumed hat. Louise made watercolor sketches of the local adobes. A Wild West rodeo was held in her honor at Laguna Blanco on Hope Ranch.

One excited observer said that "the impress of royalty had a very expansive and exhilarating effect" upon Santa Barbarans, for its citizens, and particularly, the realtors, now would advise would-be settlers and interested tourists that royalty approved of the beautiful area. Meanwhile, practical Mayor Fernald pointed out that the city had incurred no expenses whatever because of her extended visit with her husband. They did not even use a police escort.⁸⁰

Upon leaving Santa Barbara early in January 1883, this prestigious party went east via Deming and Santa Fe, New Mexico, Kansas City, St. Louis, Louisville, Richmond, and Charleston, whence the princess sailed for Bermuda while her husband went to Washington, D.C., to visit President Chester A. Arthur.⁸¹

Santa Barbara would have other royal couples, drawn by its reputation for beauty, and its glamorous reputation expanded. Among these in 1919 were the King and Queen of the Belgians and their young son, Crown Prince Leopold.

Albert I of the Belgians was the nephew of King Leopold II (reigned 1865–1909), whose own son died before him. Leopold II's sister was the ill-fated Carlotta, Empress of Mexico. Albert's father was Count Philippe of Flanders. Second son of

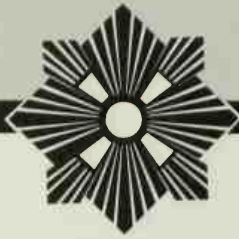
the count, Albert was born April 8, 1875, but his elder brother, Baudouin, died in 1891 of pneumonia. Leopold II would survive his brother Philippe, thus making Albert heir to the throne. Since as early as 1898 it was very probable that he would become the future king, Albert was sent to the United States to study government, economics, and American society. Already this tall, blond prince had been educated in a democratic fashion and had become acquainted with many ordinary European people.

Prince Albert's liberal and brilliant tutor, Major Jungbluth, accompanied him. During the tour, many American girls considered the twenty-two-year-old prince eligible and sought marriage, but all were turned aside. After his return to Belgium, in 1900 he married Princess Elisabeth, daughter of Prince Charles Theodore, a Bavarian duke turned eye doctor, and of the House of Wittelsbach.⁸²

When Albert landed in New York on March 8, 1898, the *Times* correspondent reported that:

The Prince is a well-built, handsome young man of twenty-two, fully six feet tall, and proportionally broad. He is clean-shaven . . . His hair is ash blond, and he wears glasses. His knowledge of English is exceedingly limited, but he speaks almost perfect French . . . One of his first remarks to Count Lichtervelde was that he was struck by the entire absence of class distinction, which he noticed not only in the manner of the Americans he had met on board, but also in their dress and speech.

Albert told interviewers that his main reason for coming to America was to study industry, and especially investigate the uses of electricity, which in that golden age of Edi-



son seemed to be the chief key to the future. He would travel to Dixie and the Far West and return home by July. The prince refused to have United States army officers travel with him, because it would look like protection. He traveled incognito, for whatever that was worth, as Count de Rethy. Giving aid and comfort to the American craze of the day, he admitted being an ardent bicyclist.⁸³

As he toured their city, New Yorkers found him interested in everything, never bored, and exclaiming that he had never seen so many beautiful women as he did in their metropolis—even though he had to use his eyeglasses. Of course, New York's new skyscrapers impressed him too. These were his best impressions—women and tall buildings.⁸⁴ Incognito or not, Albert was greeted at the White House where President William McKinley received him, as the nation neared entering the Spanish American War.⁸⁵ The Belgian prince's tour of the Pacific coast took some weeks. When he sailed home, he is said to have exclaimed to an American friend, "Alas! you Americans will eat us all up."⁸⁶

In 1909 Albert I became king, and in 1914 his small nation, guaranteed neutrality many years before by the Great Powers, nevertheless saw Kaiser William II's German troops violate that neutrality in order to invade France. The royal family's courage and complete dedication to Belgium during the next four-years matched that of the people themselves in heroism against an aggressor. Albert and Elisabeth remained on the only portion of Belgian soil the Germans never conquered, La Panne, and after

1917, the kingdom's new allies, the Americans, came to know the king well. In 1919 he entertained President Woodrow Wilson and his wife, Edith, during their European visit while the Treaty of Versailles was being written. Wilson's days of adulation as architect of victory and peace ended quickly in the fall when the United States Senate rejected ratification of the treaty and the League of Nations covenant, and the president became ill during a nationwide tour to convince the American people to support his ideals.

In that autumn of 1919, to thank Americans for their wartime relief of suffering Belgians and their efforts in defeating Germany, the royal pair came to the United States. Since President Wilson was by then an invalid in the White House, their visit there was brief; Vice President Thomas Marshall became their official host. So democratic was Queen Elisabeth that she went *really* incognito to Broadway, which she greatly wished to see, and was jostled by a New York crowd which never recognized her. Slowly she walked down the avenue "filled with dazzling brightness." Harvard University formally conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on her gallant husband, whom the American people had come to love. As the royal family headed west to California, King Albert rode in the railroad engine. He had long before learned how to operate a locomotive. Americans were fascinated to know that during his "working vacation" in America in 1898, he had briefly worked on a newspaper. As we have seen in other instances, Americans beholding a sovereign in 1919 were as disappointed as they

had been in the gold rush when they saw royalty in ordinary clothes.⁸⁷

California's Herbert Hoover, who had been President Wilson's food czar during the war and before that chief supplier of sustenance to the suffering Belgians, knew Albert well as "a man of great simplicity and nobility of courage," and recalled that the king "often spoke to me of this [as a worker in America] as the most happy period which he had ended with great reluctance to answer the call of duty at home."⁸⁸

It is obvious that he had improved his English over the years through so frequent conversations with his American and British allies, and according to Vice President Marshall the king in 1919 spoke it "to perfection." Once when the vice president presented an American social-climbing snob to Albert, the man enthused: "Long may your majesty live to rule over Belgium!" Instantly, the king replied, "Sir, I shall rule the Belgians so long as they desire me to and not one moment longer. This is not the time for men to seek to impose their rule upon their fellow-men."⁸⁹

At San Francisco on October 10,

(Top) Emperor Don Pedro II of Brazil, the first imperial visitor to California, paid a much heralded visit in 1876 on the occasion of the centennial of American independence from British rule.

(Middle) Charles Fernald was mayor of Santa Barbara in 1882 when Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, and her husband, the Marquis of Lorne, visited the city.

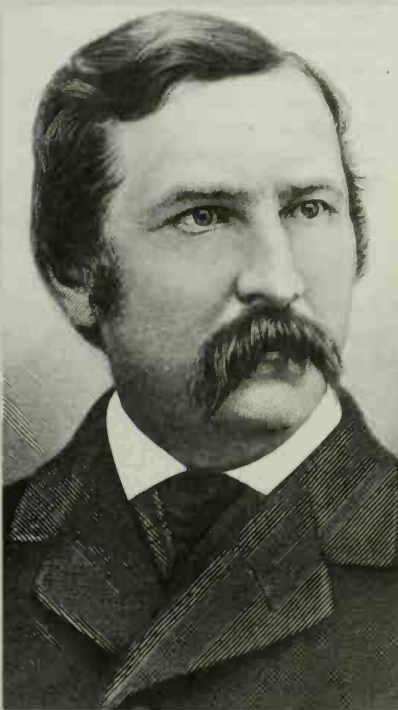
(Bottom) William W. Hollister was the proprietor of the Arlington Hotel and played host to the first British royal couple to visit Santa Barbara, the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne in 1882.



SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY





King Albert praised America's educational system and its harvest of young American soldiers who helped liberate his land. He said: "They went 3,000 miles to fight for an ideal, and whenever I saw one of them he knew what he was fighting for."⁹⁰

After leaving the Bay area the royal tourists visited Yosemite Valley for thirty-six hours, where the queen stroked the ears of a mountain lion. Albert and Elisabeth rode horseback that afternoon from the village to Glacier Point.⁹¹ When he was given seed from the towering *Sequoia Gigantea*, he smilingly promised to plant them in a Brussels park, "and I will go and see the result some five thousand years from now."⁹² Their eighteen-year-old son, Leopold, camped atop Sentinel Peak with its fine view of the valley. He had climbed the four-mile trail on pony back. After spending the night in a tent, the crown prince caught trout for his meal. The king and queen went native, for Albert donned cowboy chaps, a flannel shirt, and a white handkerchief knotted about his neck.⁹³ Mountain climbing was no novelty to this sovereign, who was noted for his exhilarating treks. Unfortunately, a climbing accident in 1934 would cause his death.

In Santa Barbara their majesties enjoyed the surf at Miramar Hotel, and in the afternoon took an airplane ride, both wearing regulation aviator helmets. They flew in a Lockheed ten-passenger seaplane over the Santa Barbara Channel. Many eyewitnesses were astonished at their bravery in this eighty-two-foot, two-motor plane at about a thousand feet elevation. Meanwhile, young Leopold donned civvies and went about Santa Barbara incognito.⁹⁴ They vis-

ited Santa Barbara for three days.

Queen Elisabeth was one of the first women since Princess Louise to visit Mission Santa Barbara's garden which the Franciscan padres usually closed to females. Mrs. Ida McKinley had been given this unusual honor when she visited the gemlike little city with the president in 1901.⁹⁵

In 1919 Los Angeles was a major American city with a population approaching half a million, and its most famous suburb was already distinguished for its moving picture stars of the silent screen. In fact, at La Panne, the king had once told a visiting American conservationist, James M. Beck, "We kings do not count any more. It is the Mary Pickfords and Douglas Fairbankses who really matter."⁹⁶

Los Angeles was prepared to greet the Belgians, but the *Los Angeles Evening Herald* was wrong on October 17 when it stated that "this is the first time a reigning monarch had ever visited the United States," but journalists are contemporary "historians," seldom bolstered with the memories of the traditional followers of Clio.⁹⁷ One journal added a humorous note in its specially written poem by Venton A. Holbrooke to welcome the Belgian monarch:

*Out here we deem it but a little thing,
Whether a man's a subject or a king,
But never would we keep a good man
down,
Simply because he's burdened with a crown.*⁹⁸

Thousands of school children in Los Angeles welcomed them, probably jubilant to be free of classes for a

day, and the U.S. Army's 91st Division veterans, who had fought in Flanders, joined them. Later in the day the king visited Hollywood's "royals" at Thomas Ince's motion picture lot. In Culver City Syd Chaplin Field set to flight a fleet of twenty airplanes to salute the royal Belgians. After five hours in the city they drove through Hollywood, and then on to Glendale and Eagle Rock.⁹⁹ Pasadena was especially displeased, for, because of the time shortage the king and queen could not stop there for any length of time.¹⁰⁰

By the 1920s and even more so in recent years, VIP visits, whether they were of royalty or politicians have so frequently occurred in the Golden State, now virtually an empire itself, that their coming may receive extensive media comment, but hardly are considered historic moments of adventure. If familiarity has not bred contempt, it has clearly reduced naivete, but not the warmth of California hospitality. Glancing back at the regal visitors of long ago, one must admit that they were rather remarkable human beings who would have been considered highly interesting even if they had been devoid of all royal ancestry and titles, and all of them found California a "Very Important Place."

CHS

See notes beginning on page 290.

(Above) The Arlington Hotel in Santa Barbara where the Princess Louise and her husband stayed on their 1882 visit.

(Below) Crown Prince Leopold; King Albert I of the Belgians, and Queen Elisabeth seated in the Sacred Garden of Mission Santa Barbara on their 1919 visit to California. On the far left is Julius Bliebe, OFM, the mission superior, and standing between is Theodore Arentz, OFM.

SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



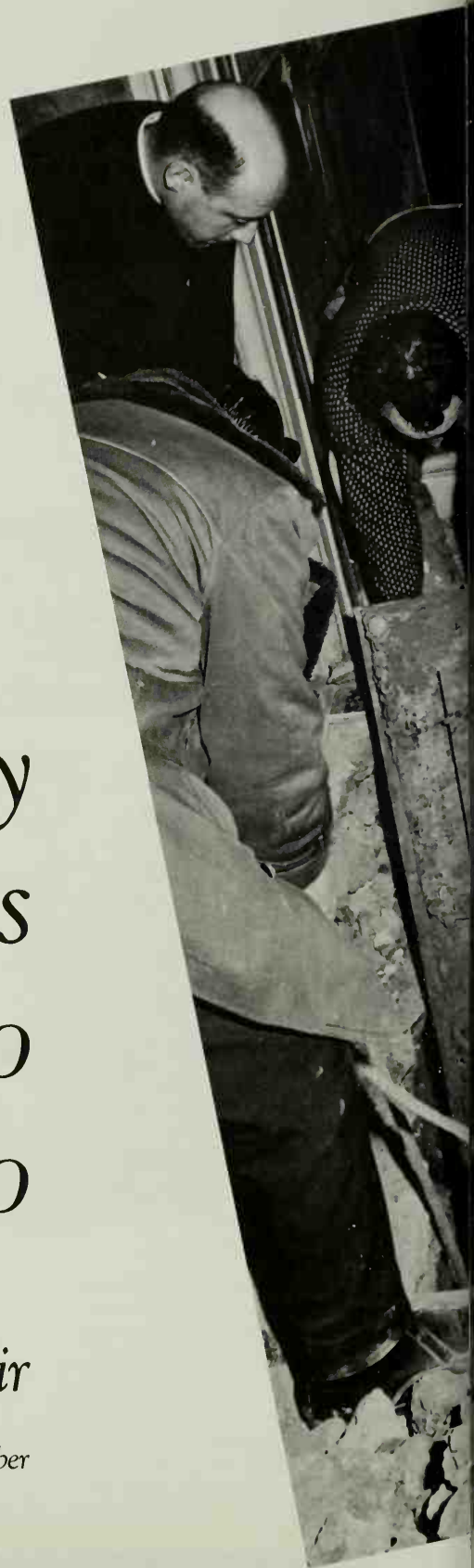
SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



*Alemaný
Returns
to
San Francisco*

A Personal Memoir

Francis J. Weber





Workers remove metallic casket bearing the archbishop's remains from the vault in the Iglesia de Santo Domingo, Vich. (All photographs used to illustrate this article are courtesy Archives Archdiocese of Los Angeles.)

The centennial of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany's death was observed liturgically at Saint Mary's Cathedral in April 1988. Homilist for the memorial honoring San Francisco's proto-archbishop was Msgr. James Gaffey of Santa Rosa.

Over two decades ago, I was asked to serve as official agent for the Archdiocese of San Francisco in the complicated proceedings involved in returning Alemany's remains to California, a project that occupied a goodly portion of my time between November 1962 and February 1965.

The detailed log of correspondence kept during that time, together with records of earlier attempts to bring back the archbishop's restos, was placed on deposit at the Chancery Archives for the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Colma. What follows is an overview of those long, interesting but often frustrating negotiations.

With the acceptance of his resignation by Pope Leo XIII on March 27, 1884, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, the first Archbishop of San Francisco, brought to an end one of the great epochs in California's ecclesial heritage. His thirty-four-year episcopate behind him, the Titular Archbishop of Pelusium set out for his native Spain to spend his final years as a humble religious in the Order of Preachers.¹

Death came to the Dominican archbishop on April 14, 1888 in the city of Valencia, where he had gone to help re-organize his order's ancient Province of Aragon. Although there is no evidence to determine his own wishes in the matter, Alemany's family asked that he be interred at Vich, his birthplace, in the Iglesia de Santo Domingo, the convent where he had begun his novitiate sixty years before.

A local newspaper account noted that the archbishop's remains were sent by rail and arrived at Vich on April 18th where a mourning city waited in respectful silence. Met there by members of the family, ecclesiastical dignitaries and civil officials, the body was taken to the Cathedral where it lay in state the rest of the day. At precisely ten o'clock the next morning, a Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Vich in the presence of most of the city's clergy. A spirited sermon, preached by Canon Narciso Villarasa, reviewed the notable accomplishments of the "Apostle of California."

With the completion of the ceremonies, the remains of the archbishop were borne in procession some few blocks to the Iglesia de Santo Domingo where they were buried in a chapel to the epistle side of the church. When the vault of his tomb was closed on April 19, 1888, hardly any more attention was paid to the noble California pioneer for the next thirty-three years.

The first concerted attempt to move Alemany's remains back to San Francisco seems to have taken place in the spring of 1921 when a formal petition was submitted to the Cathedral Chapter of Vich by Archbishop Edward J. Hanna. Apparently the proposal of Alemany's successor was received with some attention but the response was not favorable as is obvious from an examination of the response from the Bishop of Vich:

Msgr. Francis J. Weber has served for twenty-five years as archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. He is the foremost historian on the history of the Catholic Church in California, having published numerous monographs, bibliographies, and articles in that field.

We feel that it will be impossible at this time to accede to the wishes of Your Excellency which have been brought to our attention. After consulting with our chapter, the Alamany family² and others, we find ourselves unanimously opposed to transferring the archbishop from the humble city where he is interred.³

Thirteen years later another attempt was initiated by the Very Reverend James B. Connolly, Dominican Provincial of Holy Name Province. The idea was to have Alemany "re-interred beneath the Chapel of the new College of Saint Albert the Great at the Dominican House of Studies" in Oakland.⁴ With the enthusiastic support of Archbishop Hanna, two priests journeyed to Rome for consultation with the Dominican Master General, Very Reverend Martin Stanislaus Gillet. This second set of negotiations was considerably more productive, but was thwarted by the advent of Spain's Civil War. By the time the hostilities were over, there was such confusion about the actual site of the tomb that the matter was indefinitely postponed.

With the subsequent location of the grave, whose marker had been removed by the family to prevent its desecration, sentiments were again aroused to return the archbishop to California. It was at this juncture that the Alamany family filed a legal claim to the remains based on their contention that since they had paid the expenses of having the archbishop moved from Valencia to Vich after his death, they had a valid voice in determining whether the removal could take place, a claim that was judged valid by civil authorities. Antonio Alamany, the grand nephew of the archbishop, then disclosed his family's sentiments by stating that their consent would be given only "on the grounds that the process of beatification be taken up."⁵

A third overture was made by a





The Bishop of Vich, Most Reverend Ramón Masnou Boixeda, holding a walking stick, watches as Ernesto Tell and others open the casket in a small chapel of the Iglesia de Santo Domingo. The author of this memoir is in the center of the picture (second from the left, standing).

certain Jaime Ensenat who was anxious that an exposition be staged in San Francisco of "the many and varied souvenirs and personal objects of the archbishop."⁶ It was also proposed that Alemany's grand niece should come to the Bay City to supervise the exposition. The date of the event would coincide with San Francisco's centenary as an archdiocese.

About a year later, the matter came before Archbishop John J. Mitty of San Francisco; he showed no less enthusiasm about returning his illustrious predecessor than had Archbishop Hanna. It was pointed out that up until this time "the great obstacle to overcome in order to return the body of Archbishop Alemany to San Francisco was his family. . . ." Apparently Mitty was not advised at this time about the previous condition regarding the beatification.⁷

Archbishop Mitty was confident that the transfer would then proceed along normal channels and expressed his delight with the arrangements: "I am very happy to learn that there will be no difficulty with the Dominicans, with the relatives or with the local Bishop." However, it was about that time that the family reminded Mitty about their reservations. It was their intention that the archdiocese would finance the cause. Apparently, to quote the rector of Rome's Angelicum College,

The motive for consenting to the removal of the body together with the offer for the exposition of all the personal effects of the archbishop seem to indicate that there is a desire to stir up interest in the archbishop's cause.⁸

With the disclosure of the family's conditions, Archbishop Mitty cancelled further negotiations stating that such an undertaking "would have to be financed" by an archdiocese already confronted with a

dire "shortage of priests." With this, Mitty concluded that "it looks as if I shall have to give up any hope of having the body of Archbishop Alemany here."⁹

There the matter rested for another decade until the summer of 1962, when I visited Barcelona seeking information on the history of Southern California. At that time I was the guest of the Alemany family for some weeks and discussed at length the possibility of reopening the whole question of moving the archbishop's remains. Antonio Alemany, grand nephew of the archbishop, still remembering quite vividly the details of his uncle's funeral in 1888, was extremely cordial as was his son José Alemany y Torner. Both of these gentlemen attended the Mass I celebrated at Sarría when Bishop Francisco Mora y Borrell was disinterred and both were eventually brought around to the logic of bringing the archbishop back to his California jurisdiction.¹⁰ At long last, it seemed as if the state's first metropolitan would return.

It had been my personal desire that Alemany be interred in Los Angeles since that city lies within the territorial boundaries of Alemany's earlier jurisdiction of Monterey.¹¹ This matter had previously been discussed with the family but, as stated by José Alemany, "I can tell you that from my part I have no preference at all," although he did think "San Francisco has a right too."¹² I approached then Bishop Timothy Manning of Los Angeles and was advised to consult with Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken before making any definitive plans about the final disposition.

Within a week after approaching Archbishop McGucken the matter was brought before the Consultors of the Archdiocese of San Francisco

and "they were all in favor of taking the steps to bring back to San Francisco the body of Archbishop Alemany."¹³ McGucken authorized me to proceed as his agent in the removal process. That the decision to select San Francisco for the interment was well received by the family is obvious from a subsequent letter which stated that they were "very glad you have arrived at a final decision."¹⁴

Señor Ernesto Tell, a prominent Barcelona lawyer, was engaged to arrange the legal technicalities. An earlier communication from him indicated "there would be no difficulties in transferring the remains to California."¹⁵

A formal petition was drawn up and sent to San Francisco where it was translated into Spanish. Addressed to the Most Reverend Ramón Masnou Boixeda, Bishop of Vich, the petition expressed the wishes of San Francisco's Catholics to see the first archbishop interred in California.

The undersigned, acting with the approval of his Archdiocesan Consultors, humbly petitions the Metropolitan Chapter of the Diocese of Vich for permission to move the remains of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany to San Francisco, California, United States of America.

Assurance is hereby given that the remains of the archbishop will be interred with those of his illustrious successors with all respect and honor due the memory of California's first Archbishop. Señor Ernesto Tell (our legal counsel) has been commissioned by the undersigned as the official representative of the Archbishop of San Francisco in the removal process and is empowered to act in my name in all matters pertaining to the transfer of the archbishop.¹⁶

The petition was forwarded to Señor Tell on January 25, 1963 and was presented on February 2. It was at this juncture that complications

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TO
VESTE. VICTY. SVT.
EXMIL. IN. P.
AD. CAEL.
MORTAL.
NE. PRAESYL. EGR.
OVIES. T.
INTER. OPT.



The opened casket of Archbishop Alemany rests before the plaque marking the tomb in the Iglesia de Santo Domingo, Vich.

again beset the process for, as the lawyer noted, "In the case of Archbishop Alemany, we will find complications from the fact that his remains . . . are publicly exposed in a church for many years."¹⁷

It had been suggested to Archbishop McGucken that the possibility of a refusal from either ecclesiastical or civil authorities would make it advisable "not to make any public announcement about this project until all the arrangements have been made."¹⁸ This advice was given to Tell who had thought earlier that a public campaign in the Vich press would help the cause. However, news of the negotiations leaked out and Archbishop McGucken was forced to make a public announcement to the San Francisco papers on January 28, 1963.

*The Archdiocese is planning to exhume the body of the first Archbishop of San Francisco—Friar Joseph Sadoc Alemany—from his family burial vault in Spain and fly it here . . . Archbishop Alemany will then be buried again in a special chapel of the Holy Cross Cemetery Mausoleum next to the bodies of Archbishops Riordan, Hanna and Mitty. . . . The Archbishop said the Los Angeles historian, Friar [sic] Francis Weber returned from Spain recently and informed him that Archbishop Alemany's family was agreeable to bringing his remains to the United States.*¹⁹

News of the press announcement was sent at once to Señor Tell who was advised, in view of the San Francisco release, "to remove the secrecy bond that was earlier imposed if you think it will work to the interest of everyone concerned."²⁰

However, it would seem that the newspaper publicity was poorly received in Spain. Difficulties began multiplying and when Señor Tell was received by the Vicar General of the Diocese of Vich, he was told that the petition for removal would

be refused on the "precedent" of the earlier denials. In response, it was pointed out that the 1921 decision was based on the "unanimous refusal" of both the chapter and the family. The basis for that earlier decision had been altered for the family "has not only given their permission but are now eagerly in favor of the move."²¹ This response elicited no reaction from the Vich chancery.

Appealing to a higher ecclesiastical authority was ruled out by Archbishop McGucken who prudently pointed out that, "knowing the Spanish character, I do not think they will be much inclined to move on the basis of any challenge to jurisdiction. They are better than we are in arguing that field."²²

It was then suggested that the Bishop of Vich might "care to come to San Francisco with the remains and to participate in the solemn ceremonies of his interment." McGucken also suggested that "it might be a good idea to stress the Spanish contribution to the christianization and the civilization of California, and the need of keeping alive here the memory of the valiant Spanish missionaries and Archbishops," by securing a letter from the local Spanish embassy.

His Excellency, Señor Mariano Sanz-Briz, Consul General of Spain in San Francisco, graciously acceded to this request and sent a cable directly to Doctor Don Ramón Masnou Boixeda, the Bishop of Vich, noting that if permission were eventually obtained, "it will be an honor for me to participate and represent Spain in the sacred acts that will be celebrated to commemorate [sic] this event."²³

Early in May, Señor Tell informed me that negotiations in Vich had progressed about as far as he could carry them and advised that a personal representative be sent from San Francisco with

authority to confer with Bishop Boixeda. It was hoped that California Archbishop McGucken might stop there on his way to Mallorca for the 250th anniversary of Junípero Serra's birth. The archbishop's facility with Spanish and his winning personality would have been forceful qualities in any private discussions with the local Spanish hierarchy. However, when the archbishop was forced to cancel his trip for reasons of health, the whole question of the removal was temporarily suspended.

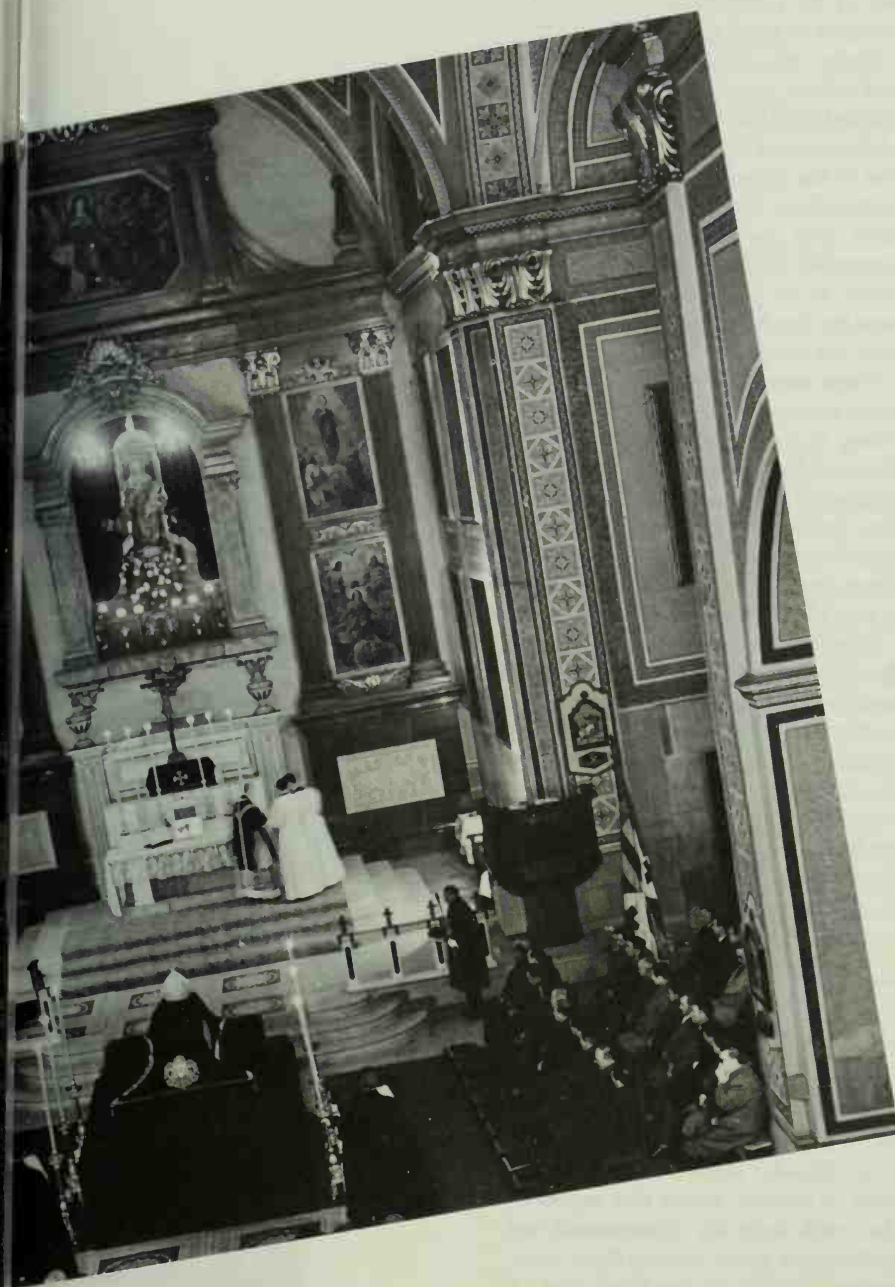
Ernesto Tell and Antonio Alamany were received by the Bishop of Vich on August 26, 1963. On that occasion the prelate agreed to submit the matter of removing the archbishop's remains to his consultors and to abide by their advice in the matter. Bishop Masnou was aware from the beginning that Vich is a "very traditional and conventional town with great esteem for its illustrious pioneers."²⁴

A petition signed by seven members of the Alamany family was presented to the chapter in late September and was passed favorably a few weeks later. Tell suggested the advisability of the Archbishop of San Francisco personally contacting Bishop Ramon Masnou Boixeda at the second session of Vatican Council II in Rome. Such a meeting did take place and the Catalan prelate assured Archbishop McGucken that personally "he had no objections" to the removal and would cooperate in every way possible.²⁵

There were additional problems, however. Tell was informed that "the Parish of Santo Domingo, where the tomb is erected, and the civil people, are against the project."²⁶ Though he subsequently discovered very little real opposition to the removal, the matter encountered additional delays.

Tell suggested the need for further intervention by the Spanish Consul in San Francisco. Señor Mariano





Interior of the Iglesia de Santo Domingo during the funeral obsequies prior to transferring Archbishop Alemany's remains to San Francisco.

Sanz-Briz graciously complied. In a long communication to the *Presidente del Ayuntamiento de Vich*, Señor Antonio Bach Roura, he assured the *alcalde* and his council that California was, indeed, the most fitting and appropriate resting place for Archbishop Alemany.²⁷ The secretary of the *Ayuntamiento*, Señor Juan Duran Noguera, favored the removal and the Rector of Santo Domingo finally acquiesced provided the necessary expenses of the project would be assumed by the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Early in September, Duran reported that the town council was ready to issue its official *nil obstat*. The actual approval came on October 9th.²⁸

Coincidentally, in that October Señor Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the Spanish Minister of *Información y Turismo*, was in California on official government business. On meeting Fraga in Los Angeles, it was pointed out to him that his influence could do much to expedite the case.²⁹ The Spanish cabinet member received the request favorably and later, from his office in Madrid, he wrote that he would take all necessary measures to speed along affairs at Vich.³⁰

Tell reported on November 4 that the *Ayuntamiento de Vich*, by initiative of its *alcalde*, reaffirmed its earlier action and granted unconditional approbation to the matter.³¹ This was verified on November 9 by the Consul General of Spain in San Francisco; he wrote that "the Secretary of the *Ayuntamiento de Vich* and its Assembly has authorized the removal of the remains of Bishop Alemany."³²

Ecclesiastical approval, following closely on the decision of the *Corporación Municipal*, was formally granted on December 1.³³ Tell informed me that the chancery officials wished to make the transfer on Thursday, January 21.³⁴ The Archbishop of San Francisco was in-

formed of the latest developments by Señor Mariano Sanz-Briz.³⁵

With the approval in hand, I visited Archbishop McGucken on December 21 in order to make final arrangements for the actual transfer. The appropriateness of holding the ceremonies at old Saint Mary's, the cathedral Alemany built in 1854, was mentioned along with a proposed outline of procedural matters. Several alternate dates for the actual ceremony in San Francisco were discussed, though the archbishop noted that he would be out of town during the last days of January. In order to solemnize the events, and to leave a cushion time-period for unforeseen delays, it was decided to leave a reasonably safe lapse of time between the planned arrival of the remains in California and the official functions commemorating the event.³⁶ The same plan was utilized which I, aided by Señor Tell, had used in 1962 to bring back to Los Angeles the remains of Bishop Francis Mora from Barcelona.³⁷ Alemany's body would be received quietly in Los Angeles, re-casketed if necessary, and then placed in a receiving vault until the day of the ceremonies in San Francisco. The possibility of a Mass at Monterey in San Carlos Presidio Church, Alemany's first episcopal seat, was mentioned but later ruled out by McGucken as *de trop*.³⁸

A subsequent visit to the Spanish Consul General in San Francisco brought up the possibility of having the Spanish ambassador in Washington, D.C., personally represent his government at the ceremonies in the Bay City. An invitation to that effect was issued and the Marqués Merry Del Val notified us that "you may be certain that I am looking forward with the greatest anticipation to this event in which the Catholics of San Francisco will honor the mem-

ory of my compatriot who was the founder of your great Diocese."³⁹

Early in January, Archbishop McGucken wrote me that he had "talked with His Eminence, Cardinal McIntyre and Bishop Manning relative to the removal of the remains of Archbishop Alemany . . . and they have told me that it is perfectly agreeable to them for you to go to Spain to be present as official witness for the Archbishop of San Francisco on that occasion."⁴⁰

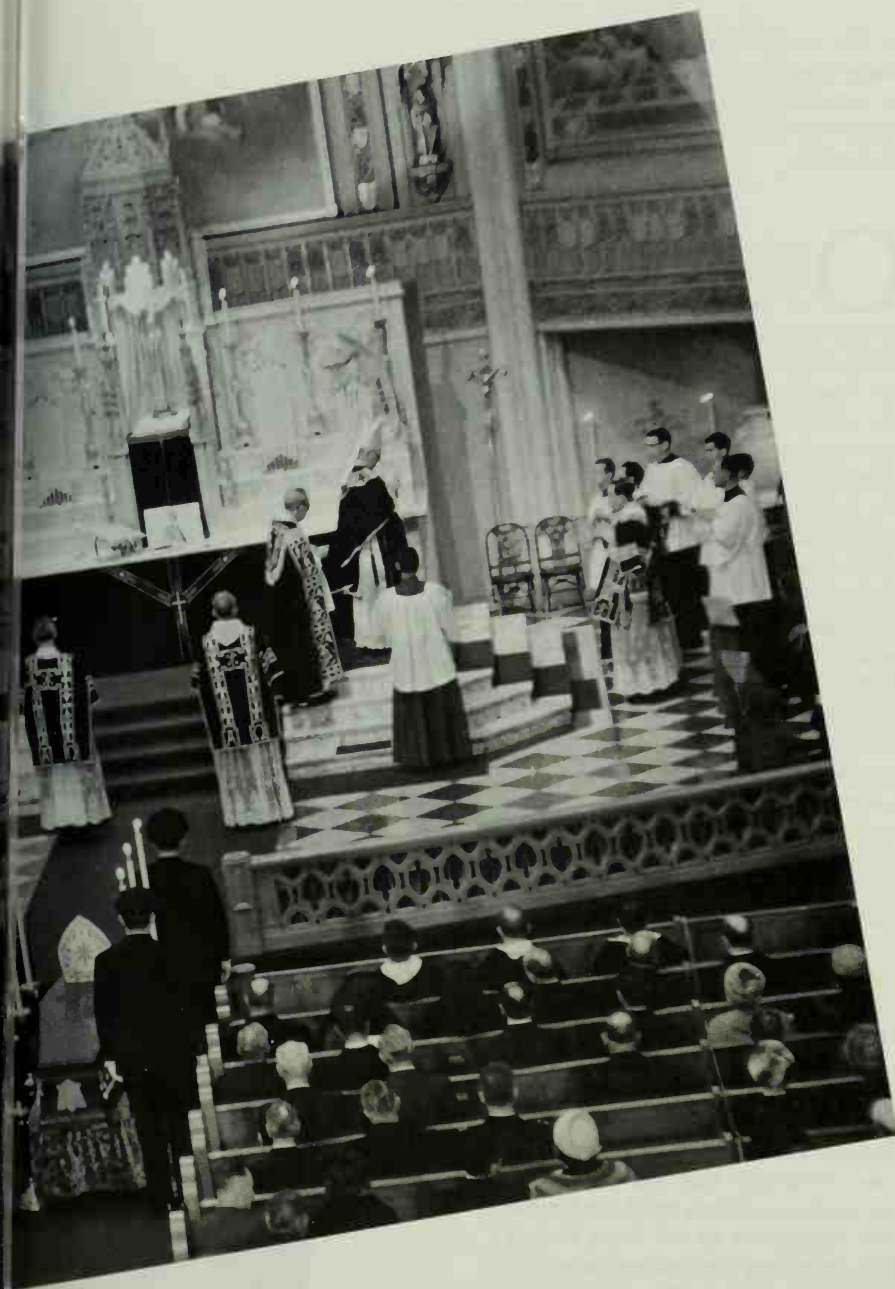
Plans were immediately made to leave Los Angeles on January 17; arriving in Barcelona two days later. The archdiocese's lawyer was alerted to have all the necessary documentation readied by that time. On the appointed day I boarded an Italian plane for the journey to the "Queen of the Mediterranean."

Shortly after my arrival in Barcelona, the Ministry of Justice at Madrid announced that its Under Secretary, Carlos Oreja Elosequi, would personally come to Vich to represent the Caudillo of Spain, Generalísimo Francisco Franco. A request was also made to postpone the ceremonial observance until January 23 in order to allow the government time for more elaborate preparations.

The work of opening the tomb began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on January 20 in the presence of the Most Reverend Ramón Masnou Boixeda, Bishop of Vich, and other civic and ecclesiastical officials. There was an obvious note of anxiety about this aspect of the work since the communists had defiled the grave during their occupation of Vich in the Civil War. A rather substantial tradition maintained, however, that they never actually found the remains and contented themselves with defacing the marble plaque attached to the adjoining wall.

At a level of approximately thirty





Interior of Old Saint Mary's Church, San Francisco's first cathedral, during funeral obsequies marking the return of Archbishop Alemany's remains to California.

centimeters, the workers unearthed the vaulted ceiling of a tomb. Further digging confirmed that the previously unopened subterranean enclosure did, in fact, house the metallic casket bearing the remains of Joseph Sadoc Alemany. When the tomb had been fully cleared, it was obvious that it had escaped despoliation, retaining intact the unbroken seals placed there in 1888.

After the recitation of appropriate prayers, the casket was removed and placed upon a catafalque directly in front of the altar in the little chapel where it laid in state until Saturday's ceremonies.

Early on the morning of January 23, the remarkably well-preserved remains of the first Archbishop of San Francisco were removed from their original container and placed in an African mahogany casket. The transfer was officially witnessed by the diocesan vicar general and chapter notary.

About 11 o'clock the visiting dignitaries were officially welcomed in the Chambers of the Vich *Ayuntamiento*. Among those attending the ceremonies were Under Secretary of Justice, Carlos Oreja Elosequi; the Governor of Barcelona, Antonio Ibañez Fraire; the Provincial Delegate of the Ministry of *Información*, Manuel Camacho; Court of Appeals Justice, the Marques de Castellflorite; the President of the Catalan *Audientia*, Elipidio Luzano Esolina; the Consul General of the United States in Barcelona, John W. Ford; the Director of the Institute of North American Studies, William Flauenselder; the *Alcalde* of Vich, Antonio Bach Roura and others.

When everyone had been assembled, a procession to the church started, winding its way through the streets, draped with American, Spanish and Papal flags. The Bishop of Vich greeted the assemblage at

the entrance of Santo Domingo and led the officials to their places surrounding the elevated dais on which the archbishop's remains had been placed.

A beautifully executed tapestry bearing the coat-of-arms of the Archdiocese of San Francisco was hoisted at the entrance to the sanctuary during the *coram pontifice* Mass which I had the honor to celebrate as the representative of the San Francisco jurisdiction. Four deacons, vested in snow-white albs, served the Mass. The epistle and gospel were read in Catalan, Spanish and English and immediately after the Mass, Bishop Masnou imparted the final absolutions. The event was well chronicled and television coverage was extensive. Agents of the press took great care to have the sacred ceremonies well described and illustrated in the nation's newspapers.

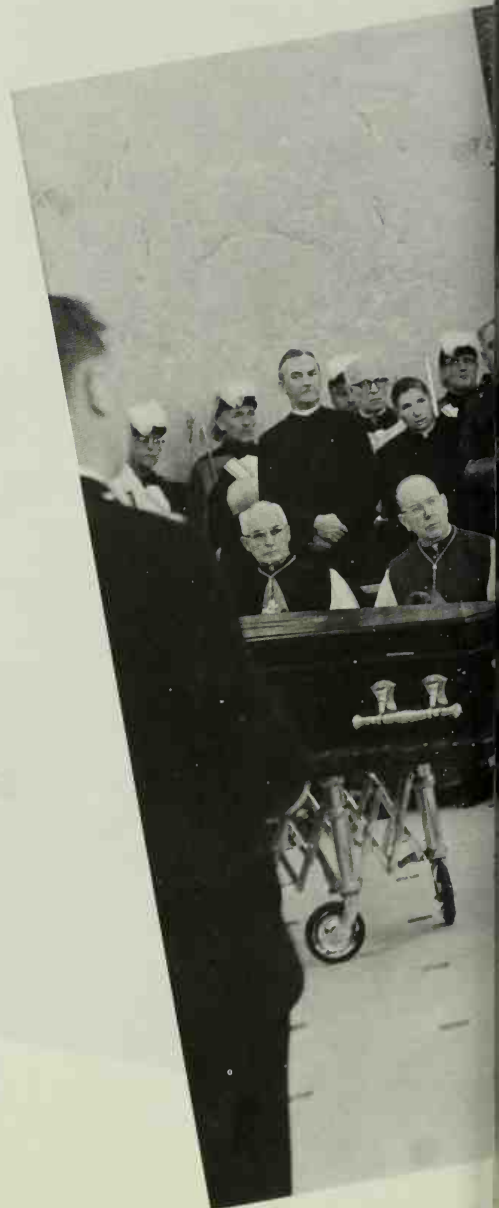
Civic observances began about 2 p.m. in the *Casa Consistorialis*. Formal addresses were given by the Under Secretary of Justice and the *Alcalde* of Vich. A panegyric was delivered by Father Luis Cura Pellicer, who spoke for the bishop. John W. Ford, the United States Consul General at Barcelona, gave a brief address and was followed by myself who thanked the people of Vich in the name of the Catholics of California. Following this observance, the officials of Vich's *Ayuntamiento* gave a banquet for twenty-four of the attending officials in an old palace adjoining the *Museo de Jaime Balmes*.

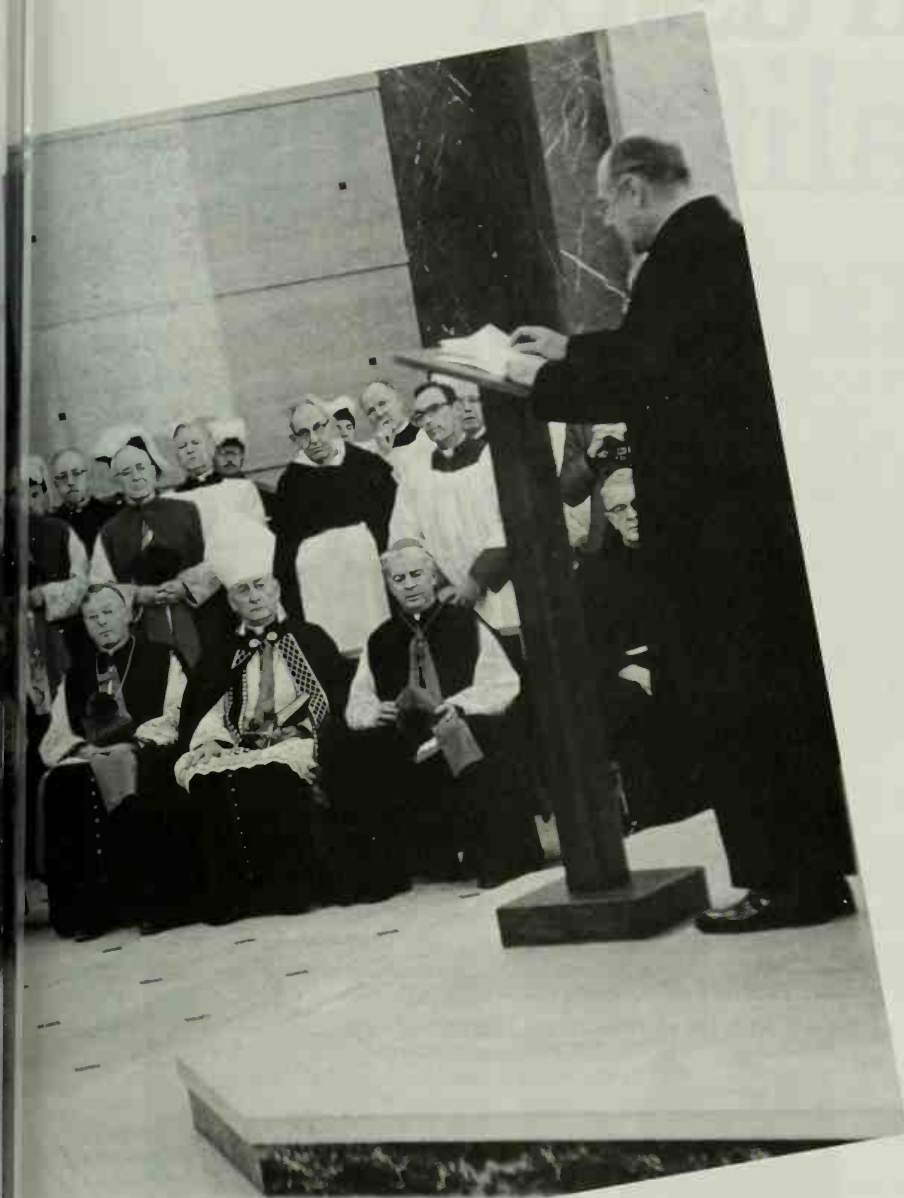
The remains of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany reposed in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of Santo Domingo until early Monday morning when they were taken by hearse to Barcelona, there to be loaded on a Lufthansa plane for California. The plane bearing the archbishop's remains arrived in Los Angeles early

on the morning of January 27 and the remains were immediately taken to a mortuary in Hollywood where certain modifications were made on the casket.

Originally, it had been envisioned that a time-cushion of eight or nine days between the scheduled arrival date in California and the formal reception in San Francisco would ensure against any unforeseen delays in removing the remains from Vich. It was also planned, from the very outset, that the archbishop's body would be brought first to Los Angeles and then taken overland to Monterey for services in Alemany's first Cathedral of San Carlos. When the proposed ceremonies there were cancelled by Archbishop McGucken in mid-January, it was too late to alter the earlier plans. The presence of the archbishop's remains in California's southland was a source of some anxiety to at least one newsman who reported that, upon his arrival in the Golden State, the archbishop was taken, "of all places, to Los Angeles!"⁴¹

Meanwhile, final plans were being made for the San Francisco ceremonies by the Very Reverend Chester Thompson, vice chancellor for the archdiocese. On February 5, I accompanied the remains by air to the Bay City where delegations from the Spanish Embassy and the San Francisco Chancery met the plane. An escorted procession sped the hearse and limousines to old Saint Mary's Church where Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken liturgically received his predecessor in the very church Alemany had built in 1853-1854. At the conclusion of the services, the body officially lay in state, guarded by alternating teams from the San Francisco Police Department. Placed atop the casket during the twenty-four-





The Spanish Ambassador to the United States, the Marquis Merry del Val, addressing the prelates at Holy Cross Mausoleum prior to the final internment of Archbishop Alemany's remains.

Wearing the white mitre and seated in the front row, Archbishop Joseph T. McGuckin of San Francisco.

hour vigil was the mitre used at Alemany's consecration in Rome on June 30, 1850.

The formal ceremonies began on Saturday, February 6, at 12:10 p.m. In attendance were the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, Marquis Merry del Val, the Mayor of San Francisco, John F. Shelley, six bishops and a church filled with eminent civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Father John B. McGloin of the University of San Francisco delivered the sermon. Dominican, Franciscan and Jesuit provincials assisted at the ceremonies as did representatives from all California's religious orders and communities. Archdiocesan seminarians provided the musical accompaniment and served the Pontifical Mass celebrated by San Francisco's archbishop.

At the end of the absolutions, the coffin was transported in a long funeral cortege, by way of Alemany Boulevard, to Holy Cross Mausoleum. There Marquis Merry de Val spoke eloquently on the early life of Joseph Sadoc Alemany. The ceremony was appropriately concluded with the remarks of Archbishop McGucken who noted that "All that is good and noble in California's Catholic heritage derives from Spain and its generous priests and laity who have made this Golden State a jewel in the Crown of Mother Church. We rejoice today in the return of our first archbishop for his holy life epitomized the spirit of Christ which the Spanish realm left for our inheritance."⁴²

With the entombment of Joseph Sadoc Alemany alongside his three successors, "the heart and affection" that California's first archbishop left in San Francisco were once again united to his earthly remains.⁴³ The gentle Dominican friar had returned to his people eight long decades after a tearful departure in 1885. CHS

See notes beginning on page 292.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Edited by James J. Rawls

Escape from Death Valley. As Told by William Lewis Manly and Other '49ers.

Edited by LeRoy and Jean Johnson.
(Reno: University of Nevada Press,
1987, xvii, 213 pp., maps, illus.,
\$25.00 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Peterson,
Professor of History at San Diego State
University and author of *The Bonanza
Kings and Manifest Destiny in the
Mines*.

A reproduction of William Lewis Manly's "From Vermont to California," written in 1888 for the *Santa Clara Valley* newspaper, this oversized paperback tells of the problems of the Bennett and Arcan families searching for a non-existent route to the California mining frontier from Utah. Stranded in Death Valley, Manly and his friend John Rogers heroically ventured west over the mountains to find provisions and return to rescue their besieged comrades. The two young men journeyed 270 miles on foot through deserts and over rugged mountains to find help at Rancho San Francisco near Los Angeles. They then returned across the desolate landscape with supplies for the families anxiously awaiting their arrival.

The editors went to great pains tracing all possible routes of the Manly expedition and supplemented their travel with extensive scholarly research. Obviously consumed with the project for thirteen years, they are well qualified to edit this courageous undertaking. LeRoy Johnson is a forest geneticist for the USDA Forest Service and an experienced cartographer and rock-climber, while his wife, Jean, edits scientific papers. Although not professional historians, they provide a thoroughly documented account of the Manly-Rogers routes and the travails of the misplaced Argonauts of '49. They even include an appendix listing the dates and locations of camps on Manly and Rogers' round-trip search for provi-



Death Valley Road through the soda beds called the "Devil's Golf Course." The photographer was Charles Puck, c.1915.

sions and those of the families who escaped from Death Valley. A solid bibliography and extensive explanatory notes testify to their exhaustive research on foot and in libraries from Washington, D.C., to California.

The work is divided into five distinct parts. The first part provides historical background, researching methodology, and the location of the routes. The second part, the heart of the book, is Manly's account of his rescue mission, while the remaining sections contain brief accounts of the Death Valley episode as reported by contemporaries John Rogers, Louis Nusbaumer, and Reverend James Brier.

Those who like their history close-up and personal, if not antiquarian, will find this thoroughly researched and ably edited work most appealing. Others with a larger vision of the historical significance of Death Valley and California may find it too tedious and detailed. Nonetheless, perhaps the most compelling quality of the book is its insight into the human spirit and man's will to survive, even against the odds. The Johnsons went to great lengths to remind us of such remarkable heroism. Those who thirst for more information on Death Valley may find Richard E. Lingens's *Death Valley and the Amargosa* (1986) a useful supplement [CHS]

New Directions in California History: A Book of Readings.

Edited by James J. Rawls. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988, xv, 399 pp., \$14.95 paperback.)

Reviewed by J.S. Holliday, Director Emeritus of the California Historical Society and author of The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience, paperback edition published in 1983.

Many of us recall the admonition "what America needs is a good five cent cigar." Which suggests the simple, innocent concerns of a time long, long ago. Nowadays the pronouncements of what this nation needs reflect the dangers and demands of a meaner world. Leading the list is the cry for "Better Education." Even if promoted by ample federal and state funding, that panacea will not be attained without what is more important—the raw material for teachers and students to work with. That means textbooks, reading material that will nurture new ideas, new thinking, new awareness.

Such a book is *New Directions in California History: A Book of Readings*, edited by Professor James J. Rawls of Diablo Valley College. To cite a book of California history as valuable and relevant is not provincial or chauvinistic. In Wallace Stegner's words: "California is America only more so."

With Los Angeles the Ellis Island of the late 20th century, the challenge of educating and thereby assimilating millions of newcomers is as great or greater than at any time in the evolution of this nation of nations. If our educational system in California fails to create in the minds of millions of "kids" (I believe they should be known as *students*) a common, shared understanding of their state and their nation's past, if special interest and ethnic and racial groups scorn the old idea that "first of all, we are all Americans," then this nation will surely lose its cohesiveness when it is most needed, and we will be weakened,

certainly greatly changed by the growth of our own Quebecs.

What America needs are books that provide teachers and students the ideas and insights, opinions and observations, details and data they need to make the often surprising connections between events of the past and problems of the present; books that prove what has generally been forgotten: history can be our most relevant learning experience in school and thereafter.

Consider *New Directions in California History*. One chapter points to fear of crime and to ethnic and racial resentments as causes for vigilantism in San Francisco in the 1850s—a valuable perspective on contemporary citizen crime fighters. Another chapter explores how and why family farms in California have been transformed into "factories in the fields"—important to an understanding of today's agribusiness. A chapter on Chinese immigrants and another on Mexican immigrants reveal the economic and social exploitation suffered by foreign newcomers—painful reminders of California's traditional racial bigotry. Chapter nineteen sets forth the record of a woman whose crusading career as a reformer (1905–1933) challenged prevailing notions of femininity—an inspiring example of achievement and sacrifice for today's feminists. And so it goes, chapter after chapter that nurtures a better understanding of issues of vital importance to the 1980s.

Which is not to say that the thirty authors of these "readings" deliberately seek to make the connections or create the perspectives. Rather these insights will be apparent to some readers or they will be revealed by classroom teachers. In either case they will serve to stimulate lively discussions—about the sexual independence of some California wives in the supposedly Victorian 19th century; about pre-ghetto life (before World War II) for blacks in San Francisco; about country music as a source of identity and pride for California's "Okies"; about the machinations of university administrators and student leaders in the Free

Speech Movement at Berkeley; about California's economic future being dependent (like that of the nation) on an educated work force.

These topics suggest the diversity and relevance of the readings in this book. Equally the geographic and academic range of the authors prove that California history is not a parochial subject. Editor James Rawls has selected scholars from major universities and colleges in California and twelve other states. As he notes, "Nor is the interest in California history limited to the ranks of professional historians. Many of the new directions in this anthology come from scholars who serve in disciplines other than history, and it is precisely this interdisciplinary quality that makes California studies a lively and innovative field."

New Directions could be even more useful and relevant were it not for the editor's willingness to conform to the traditional approach to California history—which means that it begins with a look at the area's prehistory, moves on to Spanish exploration, followed by the mission era (Indian problems, secularization and social structure). The first six readings are devoted to these predictable subjects. The prehistory segment is far more speculative, even imaginative, than substantive. The report on Cabrillo's voyage along the coast is a disappointing nothing-new review of that truly insignificant moment in 1542. The seemingly mandatory bow to the Franciscans fails to achieve its claimed justification—namely that we should "study familiar subjects until they look different." Another reading offers a useful but far too brief interpretation of what several 18th- and early 19th-century visitors to California had to say about the Indians and their missionary rulers.

Beginning with a psychohistorical analysis of John C. Frémont and a critical study of the causes of the war with Mexico ("There simply was no way that the United States could acquire California peacefully . . ."), the readings become increasingly valuable and provocative. Not the least being a dramatic report on the power of

anti-Communists in Hollywood in the 1950s and how those who wielded that power—including Ronald Reagan—forced film makers to conform to their view of America.

With this book, James J. Rawls and his publisher McGraw-Hill have invigorated California history. CHS

Pacific Visions: California Scientists and the Environment, 1850–1915.

By Michael L. Smith. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, ix, 243 pp., \$26.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Raymond F. Dasmann, Professor of Environmental Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Starting with the early explorers and surveyors, and ending with the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in San Francisco, 1915, this book traces the roles of California scientists in bringing about the discovery, description, appreciation, and conservation of the natural environment of the state. The greatest emphasis is on the Sierra Nevada and Yosemite, since it was there that the scientists' part was most effective in establishing the first state park, and later expanding it to the present Yosemite National Park. It was over Yosemite also that many scientists began to withdraw from conservation struggles, as a result of the bruising controversy over the Hetch-Hetchy dam.

In the early history of the state, scientists were to be distinguished more by their attitudes and activities than by formal training. Thus, one of the first is George Davidson of the U.S. Coast Survey, who did much to put California on the map and define its physiography, but whose scientific training was informal. J.D. Whitney of the California Geological Survey had all the scientific credentials and made major contribu-



Joseph Le Conte (1823-1901) studied under the distinguished scientist, Louis Agassiz at Harvard. He returned to his native Georgia to become a professor of natural sciences at several southern institutions of higher learning. In 1869 he moved to California and joined the new University of California at Berkeley where he spent the remainder of his professional career.

tions to geological knowledge. Nevertheless, his work was overshadowed by the geological observations of John Muir, a "drop-out" from the University of Wisconsin.

Whitney, Clarence King, and William Brewer were among those, along with landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, who publicized Yosemite Valley, and helped bring about the bill signed by President Lincoln in 1864, establishing a California state park encompassing the valley and the Mariposa Big Trees. Muir came later, and was to be involved primarily in bringing national park status, not just to Yosemite Valley, but also its

surrounding high country.

Michael Smith gives particular attention to the establishment of the California Academy of Sciences in 1853. This was the first scientific institution in the state and one of the first of its kind in the nation. It provided a meeting place and intellectual center for the early scientific community. In 1868, the University of California came into existence. It was to provide a home for George Davidson and to bring the well-known geologist Joseph Le Conte into the California scene. Later John C. Merriam, William Ritter, Willis Jepson, and Joseph Grinnell were to make Berkeley a center for the

life sciences. In 1884, Leland Stanford provided funding for the establishment of Leland Stanford Junior University in Palo Alto, and to bring David Starr Jordan, and his expertise in fishery science to California.

Establishment of the Sierra Club in 1892 provided another base for scientists concerned with the conservation of wild California. Twenty-five of them (including John Muir) were among the charter members of the club. Its initial success in bringing national park status for Yosemite united scientists with advocates of wilderness protection in a common effort. However, the divisive struggle over San Francisco's plan to dam the canyon of the Tuolumne River for its water supply, which lasted from 1900 to 1913, not only divided the conservation community, but sent scientists back to the shelter of their academic disciplines or government agencies.

Pacific Visions is the product of thorough research by the author in areas often overlooked by historians. Beyond that, it is a well-written and entertaining account of the role of the scientific community in the environmental history of California. CHS

Brides of the Gold Rush: The Nevada County Chronicles, 1851-1859.

By David Allan Comstock. (Grass Valley, California: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1987, xvi, 444 pp., \$21.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ralph Mann, Associate Professor of History and Research Associate, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, and author of *After the Gold Rush*.

The Forty-Niners were overwhelmingly male, but in the early fifties, middle-class men who had committed themselves to careers in California mining towns commonly returned to their eastern homes and married. Returning to

the mines, they clearly expected their new wives to help establish the social mores of the respectable East. The first volume of David Allan Comstock's *Nevada County Chronicles* focused on the men who joined the rush for gold and found opportunity in Nevada City, the largest and most prosperous mining town of the early fifties; this volume is on the brides they brought to their new home. More specifically, this book quotes extensively from a large and remarkable cache of letters unearthed by the author, letters that center on the interrelated Niles and Searls families in Nevada City and in Rensselaerville, New York. Mary Niles, who married her cousin, attorney and judge Niles Searls, and accompanied him to California, is the focal point of an extensive family correspondence. These letters, especially those that recount day-to-day life in Nevada City from the point of view of wives and mothers, provide us with unique information about the women of middle-class families: their living conditions, their values, their ties back home, and their attitudes toward the California mines. Apparently these women did indeed attempt to do what their husbands expected of them; that is, they tried to behave much as they had in upstate New York. Extracts from local newspapers complement the letters to create a detailed narrative of Nevada City life and events during the 1850s, when a permanent town took shape and Gold Rush practice gave way to more traditional norms.

The emphasis on daily occurrences in the Searls connection and in town gives the book a deep, and very enjoyable, texture. But its strongly local and individual orientation almost precludes analysis. More attention to the larger context of town and state history would have clarified the importance of the experiences described here. In the first volume the author recreated the thoughts and behavior of certain individuals; in this volume everyone actually "did and said the things attributed to them." Still, it is a book for history buffs, not academic historians. There are no footnotes, and

although quotations are clearly set off, sometimes the source of the author's information is not clear. For academics, the quoted letters will reveal much that we only suspected about women in the mines. For others, there is the rich detail of life in a mining town trying to become respectable. CHS

Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress.

Edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986, xxi, 216 pp., \$15.95.)

Reviewed by Alexander Dean McLeod, Professor of History at Cypress College.

Often volumes produced as a result of a specific conference are lacking in continuity and the individual papers, while interesting and valuable in and of themselves, do not lend themselves to a sense of thematic cohesiveness. *Japanese Americans* is an exception to this experience. While the subtitle will confuse some (the volume covers two topics: relocation and redress, and is not an historical overview from 1942 to the present), the variety and quality of papers presented is high and the structure of the work is logical.

After a preface, a very thorough Note on the Authors and Editors section, and a chronology of Japanese American history, Roger Daniels' keynote address to the 1983 international conference on Relocation and Redress in Salt Lake City is presented. Following the address are seven sections of varying lengths, each devoted to an aspect of either relocation or redress: prewar Japanese America, life in the camps, reactions to the camps, incarceration elsewhere, the effects of incarceration analyzed, the redress movement, and negative reactions to redress.

The introduction to each section is well done, often with an excellent bibliography. The majority of the 32 essays are three to five pages in length, al-



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The San Francisco skyline as it appeared in 1970.

though some are longer, and virtually all are footnoted. The sections on life in the camps and reactions to the camps comprise approximately half of the papers and range from individual experiences of both Japanese Americans and Anglos to more global approaches of nativism and racism, formal education, state and regional reactions to Executive Order 9066, and responses of non-Japanese churches.

The list of thirty contributors is formidable. In addition, the volume also includes letters from John J. McCloy and Karl Bendetsen justifying their actions during the time of relocation.

It is fitting that these letters should be included. They represent those who decry the questioning of the incarceration and the attempts to achieve redress. What many of these people do not seem to understand is that increasing numbers of citizens are evaluating the impact of relocation and the justice of compensation.

And certainly much of the populace has missed the slow but significant change of a "model minority" from the passivity and resignation of *shigata ga nai* to the much more proactive stance of a non-dominant group attempting, with significant success, to assume a role of dignity and importance in the United States in the 1980s. This volume will aid

in our understanding of this broader reality as well as the specifics of a "shocking affront to . . . justice and fair play and human dignity." CHS

California's Maritime Heritage

By Martin P. Riegel. (San Clemente: Riegel Publishing Co., 1987, 84 pp., \$9.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert J. Schwendinger, Executive Director of the Maritime Humanities Center and author of Port of Call: An Illustrated Maritime History of the Golden Gate.

The book, *California's Maritime Heritage*, is a survey of California maritime history from the 16th to the 20th centuries divided between narrative, graphics (photographs and the writer's drawings), maps by the writer, and lists of vessels in the fleets of various shippers that operated in California.

This volume, published by the writer, reflects a limited knowledge of editing and book production. The problem is the obvious basis for the volume's main flaws. For example, no page numbers appear in the Table of Contents. The parts identified in the Table are not de-

noted in the text, and do not divide up the text, whether by chapter or subchapter. Therefore, the text is one continuous narrative.

This is an unfortunate difficulty, for the narrative, actually a *survey of surveys* dependent mainly on general statements, is consistently flat, strung together by an uninspiring prose. Without the chapters' titles and subtitles—guideposts that aid the reader in numerous transitions from one subject to another, from one period to another—the narrative is difficult to follow numerous times. Add to this the absence of a personal voice in the narrative; there is no statement as to purpose, goal, what the writer hopes to achieve in his historical journey. The continuous narrative and the ambitious attempt to capture five centuries in text compound the difficult reading. One example of trying to cover too much without needed care is the ambiguous statement that the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company "was backed by the White Star Line" (p. 29). O&O actually leased its vessels from the line.

The images and lists are two aspects of the book that might be attractive to general readers, especially those who enjoy perusing illustrated volumes. The compilation of these numerous lists of vessels was no doubt a Herculean task

for the writer. It presents some problems, though, for there is an apparent attempt to include as many shippers as possible, and the lack of references for source material poses a question of reliability. (There is unfortunately a serious lack of references throughout the volume.) Although O&O is mentioned in the text, an obvious omission for the lists is O&O's fleet, which operated out of San Francisco thirty years and shared the same dock facilities with Pacific Mail. One example of internal list problems is that of Pacific Mail's fleet; the list fails to note the vessel, *City of Rio de Janeiro*, as a transPacific steamship (p. 28). The *Rio* was a dramatic and significant experience for San Francisco Bay specifically, and for California generally. The numerous drawings are images that offer little beyond the general, nautical motif; charming they may be, but they are without the technical insight an experienced draftsman can offer. The numerous maps give practical information. This volume could have been attractive to a variety of readers if it were primarily lists and drawings; such a project would have encouraged the writer to exert greater focus and care on a less ambitious, yet conceivably worthwhile goal.

What any writer ultimately discovers is that without a clear, workable goal, and without the need to share some personal view of the world—unity, purpose, and content necessarily suffer. CHS

Hoover Dam: An American Adventure

By Joseph E. Stevens. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, x, 326 pp., \$24.95.)

Reviewed by Carroll Pursell, Adeline Barry Davee Distinguished Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University and editor of Technology in America.

During the 1920s engineers were the Marlboro cowboys of the advertising



Hoover Dam construction, at the time called the Boulder Canyon Project, looking downstream, c.1934.

pages, pictured surveying the land while enjoying a pipeful of Velvet tobacco or relaxing in front of the Hoover Dam, taking a refreshing and well-deserved Camel break. The image of a rugged, conquering hero set in the lonely western landscape nicely captured the romance of the taming of nature, the imposition of human ends on wild means, the melding of the past with the future. The reader of Joseph Stevens' *Hoover Dam* will not be surprised at the image nor at its force. Against all sophistication and even cynicism, and against all rational knowledge of the price we and the future will pay for our prideful and imprudent imposition upon the landscape of the arid West, the image of the massive Hoover Dam and the story of the men and women who suffered to see it built cannot help but move and inspire.

From the impossible dreams of 49ers to the greed of the Six Companies, the vision of a harnessed and tamed Colorado River itself became a mighty flood, gathering the tributaries of capital, poli-

tics, professionalism, and engineering technology into one single irresistible force. Out of a wide reading in the archives, oral interview collections, government reports, engineering journals, and the popular press, Stevens has crafted a compelling and even-handed account of the building of the dam. The capitalists and the politicians are not neglected, but the workers and their families emerge as the major protagonists of the story. Withstanding blistering heat, bad air, too little water, company thugs and blacklists, and working conditions dangerous in a hundred other ways, they built the dam. We learn why they went there, how they lived, what they did in Las Vegas, why the Wobblies failed to win their strike, how the engineers sped up the work to reap large profits, and how men and women died as a result. The drama is inherent and ably portrayed.

When the dam was finished in 1935 the workers went off to other sites and, presumably, eventually to war. Henry J. Kaiser and the Bechtels went on to build

Liberty ships and eventually, in Kaiser's case, an industrial empire, while the Bechtels became a politically-powerful, multi-billion dollar international construction firm eventually contributing both a Secretary of State and a Secretary of War to the administration of the California President, Ronald Reagan. A detailed analysis of the problematic professional, corporate, political, and economic growth that flowed from the successful completion of the Hoover Dam will be told somewhere else. That story will cast serious doubt on the way we have chosen to do things in the West. But, as Stevens writes, "in the clear desert light of Black Canyon, guilt about the past and doubt about the promise of the future shrivel. The romance of the engineer still lives in the graceful lines and brute strength of Hoover Dam." This is the story that Stevens tells so well.

CHS

A Spanish Soldier in the Royal Presidio of Santa Barbara; Experiences of a California Soldier.

By Rafael Gonzalez. Edited by Richard S. Whitehead. Translated by Jarrell C. Jackman. (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 1987, 32 pp., paper, n.p.)

Reviewed by Janet R. Fireman, Chief Curator of History at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

One day in April of 1878, an eighty-one year old man was questioned in Santa Barbara about events that took place a half-century or more before. The illiterate old man, who was "in feeble health, and [whose] mind begins to give way . . . [and who] talks in a disconnected manner" was Rafael Gonzalez. The interviewer was Thomas Savage, who was employed by H. H. Bancroft to record reminiscences of pioneers and gather documentary material for Bancroft's multi-volume masterwork on the history of California.

Gonzalez was a good subject for interview. He had been born in Santa Barbara in 1797, and had spent his entire life in the immediate region. He was a presidial soldier there, and later served as a civilian official in several capacities. During his soldiering days, and afterwards as *alcalde*, he had been capable and trusted by his superiors; he was on hand for some of the major political events in the late colonial period and throughout Mexican rule. Gonzalez's recollections, presented in this slim volume in English for the first time, are principally of those events: the arrival of Bouchard, the Monterey presidio rebellion, the struggle for political control in Mexican California.

The translation by Jarrell C. Jackman, Project Manager for the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, is smooth and graceful. Richard S. Whitehead, a longtime devotee to Santa Barbara history, has provided helpful annotations to clarify some of Gonzalez's references and to furnish background information. A particularly diligent and informative accomplishment is Whitehead's annotation of place names mentioned in the text, for which he provides exact locations and current names. He adds a fine touch too when he cites local place names, for the most part bestowed in the twentieth century, which memorialize eighteenth and nineteenth century figures.

The title, Bellerophon Books' hallmark large format, and the cover color illustration may give the bookstore browser the impression that this book contains quotidian relations. But the reader cannot help but conclude that Savage led Gonzalez to speak about particular events. The interviewer must have asked specific questions about political affairs, garrison insurrections, Indian rebellions, and the like. Valuable and helpful as Gonzalez's recollections are, one wishes that Savage had asked the veteran to describe in detail the events of a humdrum day; the old man might have recalled just what the men ate, what they talked about during long hours of guard duty, where and

how they spent their time while off duty. One wonders if Gonzalez had spent much time thinking about the "young days" until Savage came along to question him.

The editor has provided references for further reading, but almost all of them are from Bancroft, which of course is a fine place to start, but as a solitary source, denies all the scholarship that has been inspired and accomplished in the last century. Furthermore, the interview was taken for the sake of *Bancroft's Works*, so it should come as no surprise that Gonzalez's material shows up there. However, Savage is not identified in *A Spanish Soldier*, and there is no explanation whatsoever of the connection between the interview and Bancroft, which is noted in *Literary Industries* (Vol. 39 of *Bancroft's Works* [1890], p. 528).

A few typographical and mechanical errors also mar an otherwise pleasant read, and explanation of the illiterate Gonzalez being able to operate as *alcalde* is postponed until two-thirds of the way through the notes. Nevertheless, a fine service has been performed by the editor, translator, and publisher who have brought this little document to print. Clearly, it was a labor of local love and dedication that probably would have surprised and pleased Rafael Gonzalez.

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A CORRECTION. In the September issue of *California History* on page 192 an erroneous illustration was used to illustrate one of the book reviews. What was intended was a sketch of a male Esselen or Rumsen Indian as drawn by Jose Cardero, the artist for the Alejandro Malespina expedition. Instead, inadvertently a lithograph reproduction was mistakenly used, one which depicts Hawaiian native women performing a hula for foreign visitors, a subject totally inappropriate to the books being reviewed. Our apology to our readers.

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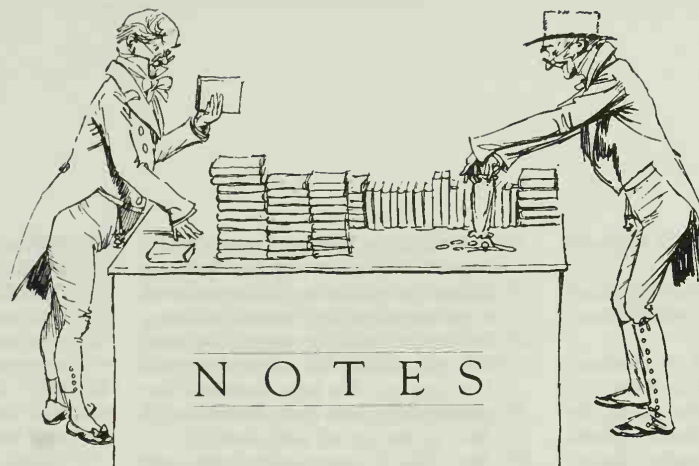
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Albin, The Perkins Case, pp. 215-227.

1. *San Francisco Weekly Christian Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151 (hereinafter cited as *Advocate*).
2. *New Orleans Picayune*, June 23, 1849, p. 1.
3. Rudolph Lapp, *Archy Lee* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1969, p. vi).
4. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151.
5. Cornelius Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 7, Cornelius Cole Papers, Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles (hereinafter cited as Cole, *Essays*). These essays are Cole's unpublished reminiscences of his life. Recorded decades after the events therein occurred, the portions relating to the Perkins case, while fairly detailed, leave some gaps in the overall story. In addition, the years clouded Cole's memory and caused him to make occasional errors.
6. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151, and Louis Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists* (4 vols.; Colma: San Francisco Historic Record, 1970), 2:19. The relationship between Albert G. Perkins and Charles Perkins is unknown.
7. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151. Only the names of A. G. Perkins and Stephen Kirk appeared on the *Sarah's* published passenger list. The slaves (and John Kirk?) were among the 166 "unidentified" persons in the steerage.
8. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151, and *California Census, 1852*, San Francisco County. The *Advocate* listed Robert's age as forty-four, a difference of approximately two years in

the age he declared in the 1852 census. The *Advocate* reported Sandy's birth year as 1793, a difference of nineteen years with that recorded in the 1852 census. Carter's age in the two sources varies only slightly. Since the slaves themselves responded to the census taker's questions, I have chosen to use the census figures as indicative of their true ages.

9. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151.
10. Alex P. Bowman, *Index to the 1850 Census of the State of California* (Baltimore: Genealogical Printing Co., 1972), p., 378, and *Seventh Census*, California, Sacramento County. In the data recorded on November 30, 1850, the names A. G. Perkins and Jonathan C. Kirk appear consecutively on the roll. Each described himself as a miner. Neither Charles Perkins, the three slaves, nor Stephen Kirk are listed in Bowman's index or in the census.
11. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151; *Sacramento Union*, June 3, 1852, p. 2 (hereinafter cited as *Union*); and Lucille Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation* (Berkeley: The University Press, 1910), p. 96. The practice of hiring out one's slaves was not uncommon. Many masters did so in an effort to raise additional money during certain periods of the year.
12. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, pp. 150-151. By November 15, 1851, Charles Perkins may have already returned to Mississippi.
13. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 8. A portion of Cole's recollection of this event is erroneous. He incorrectly wrote that two slaves returned with Charles Perkins to Mississippi. He may have also erred when he wrote that one slave, "Andy," received emancipa-

tion papers. This author found no source, except Cole, that mentioned these freedom papers.

14. *The Auburn Weekly Placer Herald*, September 18, 1852, p. 4 (hereinafter cited as *The Placer Herald*). First settled in 1850 Ophir, by 1852, had become the largest town in Placer County. Its 500 citizens made use of the bank, three express companies including a Wells Fargo office, eight retail stores, three hotels, four saloons, two bakeries, and a drug store. M. J. Brock and W. B. Lardener, *History of Placer and Nevada Counties* (Los Angeles: History Record Company, 1924), p. 201. According to *The Placer Herald*, September 18, 1852, p. 4, Ophir remained "remarkable for the cleanliness of its streets, and the general quiet and order of its inhabitants."
15. Cornelius Cole Papers, Department of Special Collections, UCLA, (hereinafter cited as Cole Papers). These papers contain letters, statements, and notes concerning the 1852 slave extradition case (the Perkins case). Though they are located with Cole's *Essays*, these documents were compiled in 1852 as the case progressed.
16. *The Placer Herald*, September 18, 1852, p. 4.
17. *Ibid.*
18. In the 1852 California census both men described themselves as blacksmiths.
19. S. Garfield and F. A. Snyder, comps., *Compiled Laws of the State of California* (Benicia: S. Garfield, 1853), pp. 231-232.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
21. Rudolph Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 144 (hereinafter cited as Lapp, *Blacks*).
22. Eugene Berwanger, "The Black Law Question in Ante-Bellum Califor-

- nia," *Journal of the West*, 6 (April 1967): 214.
23. The exact dates of Perkins' departure from California and arrival in Mississippi are unknown.
24. Power of Attorney, C. S. Perkins, April 14, 1852, California State Archives, Sacramento. In July 1843, the Mississippi Supreme Court upheld a judgment favoring Charles' father, William, in a dispute over a slave girl. While living in Madison County, Mississippi, William Perkins had purchased a slave, Lucinda, from Joseph Meek. Shortly thereafter the girl died of consumption. In turn, Perkins sued Meek, contending that Meek had been aware of the girl's ill health prior to the sale and had not informed Perkins. For four years the case wound its way through the lower courts. Finally, in 1843, the Mississippi Supreme Court ruled in Perkins' favor and awarded him monetary compensation for the deceased slave. See *Munn v. Perkins*, 9 Miss. 412 (1843). Munn was the administrator of Meek's estate. Perhaps his father's successful use of the courts influenced Charles Perkins to attempt to recover his own slaves in a similar legal fashion.
25. *Advocate*, August 5, 1852, p. 150-151. The *Advocate* on this date reprinted its original account of the arrest published on June 1, 1852. Acting as an agent for Charles Perkins, Hardin Scales may have been a relative. The surname Scales appears in the Perkins family tree during the early decades of the nineteenth century.
26. *Ibid.*, and Cole Papers. In his *Essays* Cole claimed that following the seizure of the money, someone destroyed the valuable emancipation papers.
27. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 10.
28. B. D. Fry, statement of the proceedings before him regarding the extradition of three slaves, Perkins Folder, California State Archives, Sacramento.
29. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 11. Years later Hopkins became active in California politics and in the railroad business.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. After the hearing Scales and Perkins had delayed in transporting their prisoners to San Francisco.
31. James Pratt to Cornelius Cole, June 3, 1852, Cole Papers. Pratt, a forty-niner, had journeyed from Michigan across the plains to California with a group called the Wolverine Rangers. In California he soon abandoned the gold fields for a San Francisco law practice. He later formed a law partnership with Cole. Pratt died in 1865 at the age of forty-five.
32. *Ibid.*, Tracy, along with Cole, later became active in the California Republican Party.
33. Brown, Pratt, and Tracy to Cornelius Cole June 3, 1852, Cole Papers.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Cole may have received some payment for his efforts during this time, but the amount is unclear. See S. D. Simonds to Cole, June 8, 1852, and note 38 below.
37. Pratt to Cole, June 3, 1852, Cole Papers.
38. S. D. Simonds to Cornelius Cole, June 8, 1852, *ibid.* According to the 1852 California census, 240 blacks lived in Sacramento County and 323 in San Francisco County.
39. This statement is based on the assumption that Brown and his partners continued to require payment for their services.
40. Lapp, *Blacks*, p. 191.
41. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 11. That same day Cole filed a complaint against H. Scales and Albert Perkins to recover his clients' money and property. He requested a \$3,200 judgment, court costs, and damages.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, and Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole* (New York: McLaughlin Brothers, 1908), p. 95 (hereinafter cited as *Cole, Memoirs*).
43. *Ibid.*, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 12.
44. Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 95, and The San Francisco *Pacific*, June 11, 1852, p. 2 (hereafter cited as *Pacific*).
45. Cole, *Memoirs*, pp. 95-96, and Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, pp. 12-13.
46. "Statement of the Case," Cole Papers. Cole never explained how he intended to prove the three men were free by contract. Since he stated the alleged freedom papers were destroyed, perhaps he planned to call witnesses to support the claim that the blacks had been given emancipation documents. And, surely if he planned such a strategy Doctor John Hill would be among the first he would want to testify. Nowhere in Cole's notes, memoirs, or *Essays* is Hill mentioned. Nor did the newspapers mention him after their initial reports of the case.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, June 9, 1852, p. 2 (hereinafter cited as *Alta*).
50. *Pacific*, June 11, 1852, p. 2.
51. *Union*, June 9, 1852, p. 2.
52. San Francisco *Herald*, June 19, 1852, p. 2 (hereinafter cited as *Herald*).
53. "Statement of the Case," Cole Papers.
54. *Ibid.* The legal term comity refers to the recognition accorded by one nation or state to the laws and institutions of another.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 51.
57. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, pp. 11-14.
58. Cole to W. H. Seward, June 14, 1852, William H. Seward Papers, University of Rochester Library, New York. Though Cole wrote that Aldrich hailed from Florida, the 1850 Federal census for California reveals that he was born in Rhode Island, a free state. If the census is accurate, then either Cole erred, or Aldrich had moved to Florida at some point in his life. Since Cole stated in separate sources (his letter to Seward and his *Essays*), written decades apart, that Aldrich was a Floridian, it seems likely to assume the judge had lived in Florida.
59. *Herald*, June 12, 1852, p. 2.
60. *Union*, June 12, 1852, p. 2.
61. *Pacific*, June 18, 1852, p. 2. The *Pacific* erred in stating the blacks had departed.
62. New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 29, 1852, p. 39.
63. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 14; and *Herald*, June 19, 1852, p. 2. Wells then held a temporary appointment as Associate Justice of the California Supreme Court.
64. *Herald*, June 19, 1852, p. 2.
65. Stockton *San Joaquin Republican*, June 23, 1852, p. 1.
66. *Pacific*, July 2, 1852, p. 2.
67. *Advocate*, July 1, 1852, p. 130, and *Pacific*, July 2, 1852, p. 2. To profess

- anti-slavery sentiments in the 1850s was one thing. To be an abolitionist was quite another. All anti-slavery people were not necessarily abolitionists. Many Americans who detested slavery were content to allow it to survive in the South. They opposed, however, its expansion into the territories. Indeed, the fledgling Republican party in 1854 (later President Lincoln's party) espoused such a doctrine. In his *Memoirs* Cole stated he was not a pronounced abolitionist. Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 93.
68. *Advocate*, July 1, 1852, p. 130.
69. Ironically, as the Perkins matter and events surrounding it continued to make news in the California papers, the San Francisco *Herald* reported on the Missouri Supreme Court's decision in the matter of a black slave, Dred Scott. Scott had resided with his master on free soil and subsequently sued for his freedom. In ruling that residence in a free state did not entitle a slave to freedom, the Missouri high court justices held that since Scott was currently held as a slave under the laws of Missouri (his home state) the Missouri courts were not obligated to invoke the emancipating laws of the free state (Illinois) in which Scott had temporarily resided. Five years later, in one of the most famous and controversial judicial decisions in United States history, the United States Supreme Court upheld the Missouri Court's ruling favoring Scott's master.
70. Whether or not Brown and his partners ever received the \$1,000 they had estimated would be needed to test the case before the Supreme Court is unknown.
71. Brown, Pratt, and Tracy to Cole, June 26, 1852, Cole Papers.
72. Pratt to Cole, July 1, 1852, *ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Advocate*, July 22, 1852, p. 143.
75. *Pacific*, July 9, 1852, p. 2.
76. Brown to Cole, July 27, 1852, Cole Papers.
77. The legal status of slaves domiciled (taken to live permanently) by their masters differed from that of slaves who, with their master, sojourned (traveled through or resided temporarily) on free soil. In the case of the former, courts could rule in favor

of emancipation. On the other hand, sojourning slaves were not subject to any such emancipatory ruling. By 1852, these legally perplexing terms had become well-known in the legal history of slavery in the United States.

78. San Francisco *Daily Whig*, July 30, 1852, p. 2.
79. *Advocate*, August 12, 1852, p. 156. Ironically, on the front page of this edition the *Advocate* printed excerpts from Harriet Beecher Stowe's new novel indicting slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
80. S. D. Simonds to Cole, July 31, 1852, Cole Papers.
81. Stockton *San Joaquin Republican*, July 31, 1852, p. 2.
82. *Herald*, August 31, 1852, p. 2.
83. *In re Perkins*, 2 Cal. 438 (1852).
84. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 442.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 443-457.
87. Cole *Essays*, vol. III, p. 15.
88. *Herald*, August 31, 1852, p. 2.
89. *Advocate*, September 3, 1852, p. 166.
90. *New York Times*, October 4, 1852, p. 3.
91. *Liberator*, October 22, 1852, p. 1.
92. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 16. In these *Essays*, written many years after the events occurred (see notes 5 and 13 above). Cole made several errors in retelling the Perkins matter. Here he refers to only one slave and mistakenly calls him Andy.
93. Lapp, *Blacks*, p. 146.
94. Rudolph Lapp, "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Negro History*, XLIX (April 1964): 83.
95. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 15.
96. Lapp, *Blacks*, p. 144.
97. Cole, *Essays*, vol. III, p. 16. Following the Perkins case, Cole continued correspondence with his former mentor, then brother Republican, Seward. This contact helped maintain an important link to the higher echelons of the Republican party's eastern wing. Seward later became Lincoln's Secretary of State.

Shover, Chico Women, pp. 228-243.

1. Susan Wiley Book, "The Chinese in Butte County, 1860-1920" (M.A. Thesis, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, 1974); Virginia C. Parker, "The Chinese Question of

the 1870s," *Diggins*, VI (Summer 1974): 24-27. George Mansfield, *A History of Butte County California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1918); Grant Branson, "Chico's Chinatown," *Chico News and Review*, January 29, 1983) 2-5.

2. This study is adapted from the author's book-length manuscript, *Hidden Years and Lost Lives: A Sacramento Valley Town, 1861-1900*.
3. *Record*, September 23, 1873.
4. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1872.
5. Interview with Sybil Gage Mathys; Review of Sydnia McIntosh Jones' family archive and interviews with Mary Ellen Robinson Amer, Joan Robinson and John R. Robinson.
6. F. S. Clough, *The House at Fifth and Salem*, (Chico, CA: Stansbury Home Preservation Assn., 1978), pp. 64-65.
7. Henria Parker Compton, *Mary Murdock Compton* (Chico, CA: Privately published, 1953), p. 17. My thanks to Dorothy Morehead Hill for making this available to me.
8. *Record*, February 17, 1877.
9. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1948.
10. *People v Ah Dat*, "District Court Case No. 970 (April, 1875), Northeastern California Collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
11. *Record*, February 17, 1881.
12. *Enterprise*, May 21, 1886.
13. *Record*, January 23, 1886.
14. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1886, May 1, 1886.
15. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1886; April 16, 1886.
16. *Enterprise*, March 12, 1886; Cf June 5, 1886.
17. Information on Sydnia Jones is from the 1885 *Record* report; that on the Boucher-Swearingens is from Chico *Enterprise* and *Record* newspaper accounts in April 1883; that on Tina Crawford is from an interview with Joan Robinson and Margaret Hutchinson, the latter being her daughter.
18. Clough, *The House at Fifth and Salem*, p. 63.
19. Book, "The Chinese in Butte County, 1860-1920," pp. 13-16.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
21. Interview with Larry V. Richardson.
22. Interview with Sybil Gage Mathys.
23. Clough, *The House at Fifth and Salem*, p. 42.
24. *Record*, July 11, 1948.
25. *Record*, February 13, 1886.

26. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1886.
 27. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1886.
 28. *Enterprise*, March 12, 1886.
 29. *Record*, July 23, 1887.
 30. This account is reconstructed from extensive coverage over the period of these events in the *Record* and the *Enterprise* in Chico; the *Oroville Mercury*; the *Sacramento Bee*; the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Call* as well as public records in the Colusa County Recorder's Office.
 31. *Record*, July 16, 1887.
 32. Coroner's Office Registry of Deaths, Colusa County, County Clerk's Office, Colusa. These records appear to give her height as 6 feet 5 inches but may be 5 feet 5 inches and, in light of no other support for the unusual height, the more normal figure is used here. Thanks to Bob Johnson of Colusa for his opinion on the problem.
 33. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 22, 1887.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. Quoted in *Record*, May 7, 1887.
 36. *Ibid.*, April 15 and 22, 1887.
 37. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1887.
 38. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1887. Emphasis supplied by author.
 39. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1887.
 40. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1887, copying the *Colusa Herald*.
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Quoted in *Record*, May 28, 1887.
 44. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1887.
 45. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1887.
 46. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1887; *San Francisco Examiner*, May 24, 1887.
 47. *Sacramento Bee*, May 22, 1887.
 48. *Sacramento Bee*, May 26, 1887.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. *Enterprise*, July 22, 1887; *Record*, July 29, 1887.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Sacramento Bee*, May 25, 1887.
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1887.
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. *Record*, June 4, 1887.
 58. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1887.
 59. *Record*, May 26, 1887.
 60. *Sacramento Bee*, May 26, 1887.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. "People v. Ho Ah Heung," Superior Court of Colusa City, County Clerk's Office, Colusa.
 64. *Ibid.*, judge's notes.
 65. *Enterprise*, July 15, 1887.
 66. *Ibid.*
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. Coroner's Report on Ho Ah Heung "a.k. Hong Di," Recorder's Office, Colusa County, Colusa.
 69. *Enterprise*, July 15, 1887.
 70. *Record*, July 23, 1887.
 71. *Ibid.*
 72. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1887.
 73. Raymund H. West, *The Story of St. John: The Ghost City of Glenn County* (n.p., n.d.), p. 14.
 74. *Enterprise*, November 11, 1887.
- Baur, Royalty, pp. 244-265.**
1. Frederick W. Seward, [William H.] *Seward at Washington as Senator and Statesman, 1846-1861* (New York: Derby and Mather, 1891), p. 136.
 2. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938), pp. 396-399.
 3. *San Francisco Alta California*, October 18, 1849, p. 2.
 4. *Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1107.
 5. Alphonso L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958), p. 311.
 6. *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, ed. by Elizabeth L. Wight (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1909), pp. 85-86.
 7. *San Francisco Alta California*, October 4, 1849, p. 2.
 8. Wight, ed., *Wilder Memoirs*, p. 86.
 9. "From San Francisco," *New York World*, October 24, 1860, p. 2. See also *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 29, 1860, p. 2.
 10. "Affairs in California," *New York Times*, November 5, 1860, p. 2.
 11. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 5, 1860, p. 3.
 12. "The Hawaiian Prince," *San Francisco Alta California*, October 5, 1860, p. 2.
 13. "Prince Kamehameha," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 12, 1860, p. 3.
- See also "California News and Gossip," *New York Times*, March 10, 1860, p. 2.
14. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 15, 1860, p. 3.
 15. "Notes on Travel in the Sandwich Islands," *San Francisco Alta California*, April 27, 1860, p. 1.
 16. *Diary of Gideon Welles*, ed. by John T. Morse, Jr. (2 vols.; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), II: 577.
 17. *Seward at Washington*, pp. 335-336.
 18. *The Diary of Orville Hickman Brown*, ed. by James G. Randall (2 vols.; Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Historical Society, 1933), II: 90.
 19. "Queen Emma," *The Golden Era* (San Francisco), September 30, 1866, p. 4.
 20. "Arrival of Queen Emma," *San Francisco Alta California*, September 25, 1866, p. 1.
 21. "Our Collegiate Institutions," *San Francisco Alta California*, October 3, 1866, p. 1.
 22. William Winter, *The Life of David Belasco* (2 vols.; New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918), I: 15.
 23. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 29, 1874, p. 8.
 24. *New York Herald*, November 30, 1874, p. 7.
 25. "His Majesty," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 30, 1874, p. 8.
 26. "King Kalakaua," *ibid.*, December 1, 1874, p. 3. See *ibid.*, December 2, p. 3, and December 5, p. 2.
 27. Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U.S.N., *From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral* (New York: The Century Company, 1919), p. 23.
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 29. William N. Armstrong, *Around the World With a King* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1904), pp. 1-10.
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 31. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
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 33. Armstrong, *Around the World*, p. 275.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
 35. "King Kalakaua," *San Diego Daily San Diegan*, December 20, 1890, p. 1.
 36. "King Kalakaua," *San Diego Daily*

- Sun*, January 2, 1891, p. 1.
37. "Royalty on the Wing," *ibid.*, December 31, 1890, p. 5.
38. "King Kalakaua," *San Bernardino Daily Courier*, January 3, 1891, p. 1.
39. "A King Among Us," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, January 3, 1891, p. 1. Also consult "King Kalakaua," *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, January 4, 1891, p. 2.
40. "Why Kings Are Disappointing," *San Diego Daily Sun*, January 2, 1891, p. 4.
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59. *New York Herald*, August 2, 1850, p. 2.
60. "Dom Pedro," *Territorial Enterprise*, April 27, 1876, p. 2.
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62. Hubert Bancroft, *In These Latter Days* (Chicago: The Blakely-Oswald Company, 1918), p. 108.
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67. Charles R. Tuttle, *Royalty in Canada* (Montreal: Tuttle and Simpson, 1878), p. 85.
68. Marquis of Lorne, *V.R.I.: Queen Victoria: Her Life and Empire* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1901), pp. 331-332.
69. See the *New York Times*, September 7, 1882, p. 5, and September 24, 1882, p. 14.
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72. Rev. A. W. Jackson, *Barbariana* (San Francisco: C. A. Murdoch and Company, 1888), pp. 17-19.
73. *All About Santa Barbara, California* (Santa Barbara: Daily Advertiser Printing House, 1878), p. 27.
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75. Mary A. Roe, E. P. Roe: *Reminiscences of His Life* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), p. 156. See also Col. L. A. Norton: *Life and Adventures of . . .* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing House, 1887), pp. 445-446.
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80. Owen H. O'Neill, ed., *History of Santa Barbara County* (Santa Barbara: Union Printing Company, 1939), p. 227.
81. Rogers, ed., *A County Judge*, pp. 250-252. Lorne's visit to the White House is in *New York Times*, January 28, 1883, p. 1.
82. Charles d'Ydewalle, *Albert and the Belgians: Portrait of a King* (New York: William Morrow and Company,

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 83. "Belgian Prince Arrives," *New York Times*, March 9, 1898, p. 7.
 84. "The Prince Sees Militia," *ibid.*, March 18, 1898, p. 3.
 85. Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 446-449. Contained herein is an account of Prince Albert's visit to the White House and McKinley's reception for him.
 86. W. T. Stead, *The Americanization of the World* (New York and London: Horace Markly, 1902), p. 179.
 87. Pierre Goemaere, *Across America With the King of the Belgians*, trans. by Beatrice Sorchan (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1921), p. 73. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson in her reminiscences told of meeting the royal family in Belgium and later at the White House in 1919. See: Edith Bolling Wilson *My Memoir* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), pp. 261, 267, and 292-293.
 88. "Hoover Recalls War Days," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1934, p. 3.
 89. Thomas R. Marshall, *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), p. 371. See also Josephus Daniels, *The Wilson Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), p. 430, who said that King Albert seemed sun-crowned. "He looked every inch a King. Physically, he looked down on all of us, but there were dignity and friendliness that won all."
 90. "King Albert Lauds America's Soldiers, Education System," *San Francisco Call-Post*, October 11, 1919, p. 6.
 91. "King and Queen at Yosemite," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1919, Part I, p. 2.
 92. Goemaere, *Across America*, p. 83.
 93. *Los Angeles Express*, October 16, 1919, p. 12.
 94. "Simplicity in Santa Barbara's Welcome to Albert," *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1919, p. 1.
 95. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1919, p. 2.
 96. Morton Keller, *In Defense of Yesterday: James M. Beck and the Politics of Conservation, 1861-1936* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1958), p. 26.
 97. *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, October 17, 1919, p. 1.
 98. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 99. "Mighty Ovation by Thousands," *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1919, Part II, p. 1.
 100. "California Bows to Royalty," *California Life* (Pasadena), XVI (October 18, 1919): 3. The same publication includes "Fit for a Queen," XVI (October 25, 1919): 10.
- Weber, Alemany Returns, pp. 266-277.**
1. Alemany was Bishop of Monterey from 1850 to 1853 and Archbishop of San Francisco from 1853 to 1884.
 2. While the archbishop preferred and generally used the Anglo spelling of his family name, most of the others then and now utilize the "a" rather than the "e." Both forms are considered correct.
 3. Francis, Bishop of Vich to Edward Hanna, Vich, June 2, 1921.
 4. *Los Angeles Tidings*, February 23, 1934.
 5. Antonio Alamany to Manuel Montoto, O.P., Barcelona, December 7, 1952, Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (AASF).
 6. Jaime Ensenat to Manuel Montoto, O.P., Barcelona, December 10, 1952, AASF.
 7. Benedict Blank, O.P., to John Mitty, Rome, March 8, 1953, AASF.
 8. Benedict Blank, O.P., to John Mitty, Rome, April 16, 1953, AASF.
 9. John Mitty to Benedict Blank, O.P., San Francisco, April 21, 1953, AASF.
 10. Francis J. Weber, "In Search of a Bishop," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLV (September 1963): 235-243.
 11. Five of the prelates who governed the southern jurisdiction are buried within the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.
 12. Jose Alamany to writer, Barcelona, December 5, 1962.
 13. Joseph T. McGucken to writer, San Francisco, January 11, 1963.
 14. Jose Alamany to writer, Barcelona, February 1, 1963.
 15. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, December 22, 1962.
 16. Joseph T. McGucken to Ramón Masnou Boixeda, San Francisco, January 24, 1963, AASF.
 17. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, February 4, 1963.
 18. Writer to Joseph T. McGucken, Los Angeles, December 28, 1962.
 19. *San Francisco Examiner*, January 28, 1963.
 20. Writer to Ernesto Tell, Los Angeles, February 11, 1963.
 21. Writer to Ernesto Tell, Los Angeles, February 18, 1963.
 22. Joseph T. McGucken to writer, San Francisco, February 20, 1963.
 23. Mariano Sanz-Briz to writer, San Francisco, March 5, 1963.
 24. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, August 26, 1963.
 25. Joseph T. McGucken to writer, Rome, November 25, 1963.
 26. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, December 17, 1963.
 27. Mariano Sanz-Briz to Antonio Bach Roura, San Francisco, January 23, 1964.
 28. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, October 9, 1964.
 29. Writer to Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Los Angeles, October 19, 1964.
 30. Manuel Fraga Iribarne to writer, Madrid, October 28, 1964.
 31. Don Juan Duran Noguera Statement, Vich, October 31, 1964.
 32. Mariano Sanz-Briz to writer, San Francisco, November 9, 1964.
 33. Decree of Vicar General, Diocese of Vich, December 1, 1964.
 34. Ernesto Tell to writer, Barcelona, December 1, 1964. An alternate date of January 28th was suggested but not recommended.
 35. Mariano Sanz-Briz to writer, San Francisco, December 10, 1964.
 36. The date of February 5th-6th was ultimately decided upon.
 37. See, Weber, "In Search of a Bishop," pp. 235-243.
 38. Joseph T. McGucken to writer, San Francisco, January 6, 1965.
 39. Merry Del Val to writer, Washington, January 11, 1965.
 40. Joseph T. McGucken to writer, San Francisco, January 4, 1965.
 41. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1965.
 42. *La Vanguardia*, February 8, 1965.
 43. *The Monitor*, February 18, 1965.

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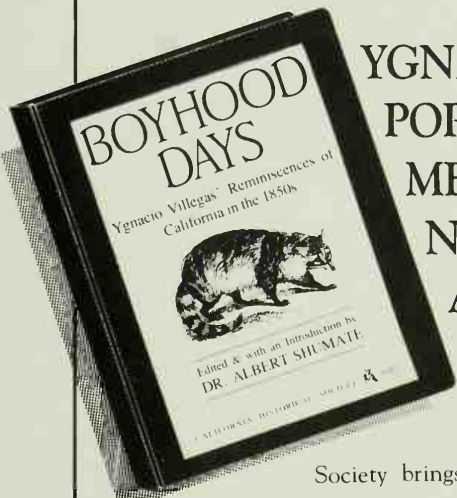
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